This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

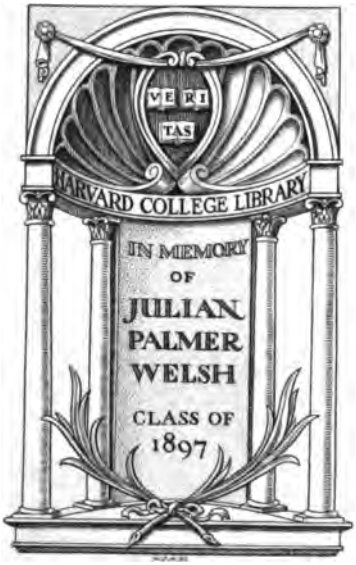
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

WIDENER LIBRARY
HX G9C1 2
3 2044 010 624 179
Digitized by Google

15495.24(1)



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE,

BART.

COMPLETE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR,

CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; F. WINGRAVE; R. LEA; LONGMAN AND CO.; WHITE, COCHRANE, AND CO.; S. BAGSTER; J. MAWMAN; J. FAULDER; J. BOOKER; CLARKE AND SONS; J. HATCHARD; R. BALDWIN; AND CRADOCK AND JOY.

Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.

1814.

Digitized by Google

15495.2.4.(1)
15491.25
HARVARD COLLEGE
MAY 22 1914
LIBRARY.
Welsh fund
(1 vols)

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME THE FIRST.

Advertisement . . . . . page i
Life of the Author . . . . . iv—xxvii
An essay on the original and nature of government . . . . . 1—30
Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands 31
1. *Of the rise and progress of the United Provinces* 41
2. *Of their government* 94
3. *Of their situation* 125
4. *Of their people and dispositions* . . 133
5. *Of their religion* 151
6. *Of their trade* 163
7. *Of their forces and revenues* . . . 185
8. *The causes of their fall in* 1672 . . 191
Letters containing an account of the most important transactions that passed in Christendom from 1665 *to* 1672 . . . 205

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following Papers are the last of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the author ever gave me his particular commands. They were corrected by himself, and fairly transcribed in his life-time. I have in all things followed his directions as strictly as I could: but accidents unforeseen having since intervened, I have thought convenient to lessen the bulk of this volume. To which end I have omitted several letters addressed to persons with whom this author corresponded without any particular confidence farther, than upon account of their posts; because great numbers of such letters, procured out of the office, or by other means (how justifiable I shall not examine), have been already printed; but running wholly upon long dry subjects of business, have met no other reputation than merely what the reputation of the author would give them. If I could have foreseen an end of this trade, I should, upon some considerations, have longer forborne sending these into the world. But I daily hear, that new discoveries of *Original Letters* are hasting to the press: to stop the current of which, I

Digitized by Google

am forced to an earlier publication than I designed. And therefore I take this occasion to inform the reader, that these Letters, ending with the author's revocation from his employments abroad (which in less than two years was followed by his retirement from all public business), are the last he ever intended for the press; having been selected by himself from great numbers yet lying among his papers.

If I could have been prevailed with by the rhetoric of booksellers, or any other little regards, I might easily, instead of retrenching, have made very considerable additions; and by that means have perhaps taken the surest course to prevent the interloping of others. But if the press must needs be loaded, I had rather it should not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one word in the style of a publisher, (an office liable to much censure, without the least pretension to merit or to praise,) that, if I have not been much deceived by others and myself, the reader will hardly find one Letter in this collection unworthy of the author, or which does not contain something either of entertainment or of use.

Digitized by Google

ADVERTISEMENT.

In this new edition of the celebrated Sir William Temple's Works his Political Tracts are printed according to the order of time in which they were written; with this exception, that as the essay *On the original and nature of government*, and the *Observations on the United Netherlands*, will give the reader a just idea of government in general, and in particular of the constitution, revenue, and forces of that country which was the scene of the author's important negotiations, these are placed first, as the best introduction to the subsequent tracts.

The Author, unhappily for posterity, committed to the flames the *First Part* of the *Memoirs* of his negotiations, for reasons which are guessed at by Dr. Swift (see vol. ii. p. 500.); but to supply that loss he permitted the publication of the Letters he wrote during the period which made the subject of that part: those Letters are therefore, in this edition, prefixed to the *Second Part* of his *Memoirs*.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LIFE

OF

THE AUTHOR.

Sir William Temple was the son of Sir William Temple, of Sheen in Surrey, Master of the Rolls and Privy-counsellor in Ireland, in the reign of Charles II. by a sister of the learned Dr. Henry Hammond. His grandfather, Sir William Temple, the founder of the family, was the younger son of the Temples, of Temple-hall in Leicestershire. He was fellow of King's-college in Cambridge, afterwards master of the free-school at Lincoln, then secretary successively to Sir Philip Sidney, to William Davison, Esq. one of Queen Elizabeth's secretaries, and to the celebrated Earl of Essex; whom he served while he was Lord-Deputy of Ireland. In 1609, upon the importunate solicitation of Dr. James Usher, he accepted the provostship of Trinity-college in Dublin; after which he was knighted, and made one of the Masters in Chancery of Ireland. He died about 1626, aged seventy-two, after having given proof of his abilities and learning, by several publications in Latin.

Digitized by Google

The subject of the present Memoir was born in London in 1628, and first sent to school at Penshurst in Kent, under the care of his uncle Dr. Hammond, then minister of that parish. At the age of ten he was removed to a school at Bishop Stortford in Hertfordshire, kept by Mr. Leigh, where he was taught Greek and Latin. At the age of fifteen he returned and remained at home for about two years, from some doubts, during these turbulent times, as to the propriety of sending him to any university. These having been removed, he was about two years after entered of Emanuel-college, Cambridge, under the tuition of the learned Cudworth. His father, intending him for political life, seems not to have thought a long residence here necessary; and therefore about the year 1647, or 1648, sent him on his travels. While on his way to France, he visited the Isle of Wight, where his Majesty Charles I. was then a prisoner; and there formed an attachment to Dorothy, second daughter of Sir Peter Osborn, of Chicksand in Bedfordshire, whom he afterwards married.

His travels extended to France, Holland, Flanders, and Germany; during which he acquired a facility in speaking and reading those modern languages, which then formed a necessary accomplishment in a statesman. In 1654, on his return, he married the above-mentioned Mrs. Osborn, and passed his time for some years with his father and family in Ireland, improving himself in the study of history and philosophy, and cautiously avoiding

Digitized by Google

any employment during the Usurpation. At the Restoration, in 1660, he was chosen a member of the Convention in Ireland, and first distinguished himself by opposing the Poll-Bill, a very unpopular ministerial measure; which he did with so much independence of spirit, as to furnish a presage of his future character. In the succeeding Parliament, in 1661, he was chosen, with his father, for the county of Carlow, where he distinguished himself by voting and speaking indifferently, as he approved or disapproved their measures, without joining any party. In 1662 he was chosen one of the commissioners to be sent from that Parliament to the King, and took this opportunity of waiting on the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond, then at London, and seems at the same time to have now formed the design of quitting Ireland altogether, and residing in England. It was necessary, however, to return to Ireland; where on a second interview with the Duke of Ormond, then at Dublin, the Duke made extraordinary professions of respect for him, complaining with polite irony, that he was the only man in Ireland who had never asked him any thing: and when he found him bent on going to England, insisted on giving him letters of recommendation to Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor, and to Arlington, Secretary of State.

This recommendation was effectual with both these statesmen, as well as with the King, although he was not immediately employed. Sir William Temple was never forgetful of this obligation: he

Digitized by Google

constantly kept up a correspondence with the Duke of Ormond, and afterwards zealously defended him against the attempt of the Earl of Essex to displace him from the government of Ireland. In the mean time, during his interviews with Lord Arlington, who seems to have had his promotion at heart, he took occasion to hint to his Lordship, that if his Majesty thought him worthy of any employment abroad, he should be happy to accept it, but begged leave to object to the northern climates, to which he had a great aversion. Lord Arlington expressed his regret at this, because the place of Envoy at Sweden was the only one then vacant. In 1665, however, about the commencement of the first Dutch war, Lord Arlington communicated to him that his Majesty wanted to send a person abroad upon an affair of great importance, and advised him to accept the offer, whether in all respects agreeable or not, as it would prove an introduction to his Majesty's service. This business was a secret commission to the Bishop of Munster, for the purpose of concluding a treaty between the King and him, by which the Bishop should be obliged, upon receiving a certain sum of money, to join his Majesty immediately in the war with Holland. Sir William made no scruple to accept this commission, which he executed with speed and success, and in the most private manner, without any train or official character. In July he began his journey to Coesvelt, and not long after it was known publicly, that he had in a very

Digitized by Google

few days concluded and signed the treaty there, in which his perfect knowledge in Latin, which he had retained, was of no little advantage to him, the Bishop conversing in no other language. After signing the treaty, he went to Brussels, saw the first payment made, and received the news that the Bishop was in the field, by which this negotiation began first to be discovered; but no person suspected the part he had in it; and he continued privately at Brussels till it was whispered to the Marquis Castel-Rodrigo the governor, that he came upon some particular errand (which he was then at liberty to own). The governor immediately sent to desire his acquaintance, and that he might see him in private, to which he easily consented. Soon after a commission was sent him to be Resident at Brussels, a situation which he had long contemplated with pleasure; and his commission was accompanied with a Baronet's patent.

Sir William now sent for his family (April 1666); but, before their arrival, was again ordered to Munster, to prevent the Bishop's concluding peace with the Dutch, which he threatened to do, in consequence of some remissness in the payments from England, and actually signed it at Cleve the very night Sir William Temple arrived at Munster. On this he returned to Brussels; and before he had been there a year, peace with the Dutch was concluded at Breda. Two months after this event, his sister, who resided with him at Brussels, having an inclination to see Holland, he went

Digitized by Google

thither with her *incognito*, and while at the Hague, became acquainted with the celebrated Pensionary De Witt.

In the spring of 1667, a new war broke out between France and Spain, which rendering Brussels a place of insecurity, as it might fall into the hands of the French, he sent his family to England, but remained himself until the end of the year, when the King ordered him to return privately to England, and in his way to go secretly to the Hague, and concert with the States the means of saving the Netherlands. Sir William, whom, Hume says, philosophy had taught to despise the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, sincere, superior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians; and meeting in De Witt with a man of the same generous and enlarged sentiments, he immediately opened his Master's intentions, and pressed a speedy conclusion. A treaty was from the first negotiated between these two statesmen, with the same cordiality as if it were a private transaction between intimate companions. Deeming the interests of their country the same, they gave full scope to that sympathy of character which disposed them to an entire reliance on each other's professions and engagements. The issue was the famous triple alliance between England, Sweden, and Holland, which being ratified Feb. 15, 1668, Sir William Temple had orders to return to Brussels, and promote the treaty of peace between France and Spain, then carrying on at Aix-la-Chapelle. He was accordingly sent thither

Digitized by Google

in April, as his Majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and mediator, and brought the affair to a happy conclusion. Soon after, he was sent ambassador-extraordinary to the States-General, with instructions to confirm the triple alliance, and solicit the Emperor and German princes, by their ministers, to enter into it. Being the first English ambassador that had been there since King James's time, he was received and distinguished by every mark of regard and esteem they could express for his character and person; and, by the good opinion he had gained, was able to bring the States into such measures, as, M. de Witt said, he was sure was not in the power of any other man to do. He lived in confidence with that great minister, and in constant and familiar conversation with the Prince of Orange, then eighteen years old. Yet, although he had a difficult part to act, he compassed the chief design of his embassy, in engaging the Emperor and Spain in the measures that were then desired; but by this time the measures of his own Court took a new turn; and though he had observed a disposition before, to complain of the Dutch upon trifling occasions, yet he suspected nothing till Lord Arlington, in September 1669, hurried him over, by telling him, as soon as he received his letter he should put his foot into the stirrup. When he came to his Lordship, whom he always saw the first, and with great eagerness desired to know the important affair that required his sudden recall, he found that his Lordship had not one word to say to him; and,

Digitized by Google

after making him wait a great while, only asked him several indifferent questions about his journey; and next day he was received as coldly by the King. The secret, however, soon came out; and Sir William Temple was pressed to return to the Hague, and make way for a war with Holland, which, less than two years before, he had been so much applauded for preventing by a strict alliance: but he excused himself from having any share in it; which so much provoked the Lord Treasurer Clifford, that he refused to pay him an arrear of two thousand pounds, due from his embassy. All this passed without any particular unkindness from the King; but Lord Arlington's usage, so unlike to the friendship he had professed, was resented by Sir William Temple with much spirit.

He now retired to his house at Sheen, and employed this interval of leisure in writing his "Observations on the United Provinces," and one part of his "Miscellanies."

In 1673, the King becoming weary of the second Dutch war, and convinced of its unpopularity, sent for Sir William Temple, and wished him to go to Holland, with the offer of the King's mediation between France and the Confederates then at war, which was not long after accepted; and in June 1674, Lord Berkley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Lionel Jenkins, were declared ambassadors and mediators, and Nimeguen appointed, by general consent, as the place of treaty. During Sir William's stay at the Hague, the Prince

Digitized by Google

of Orange, who was fond of speaking English, and of English habits, constantly dined and supped once or twice a week at his house. Sir William insensibly acquired his Highness's confidence, and had a considerable hand in his marriage with the Princess Mary, of which he has said so much in his "Memoirs." One instance of his employing his influence with the Prince, he used to reckon amongst the good fortunes of his life. Five Englishmen happened to be taken and brought to the Hague whilst he was there, and in the Prince's absence, who were immediately tried, and condemned by a council of war, for deserting their colours: some of his servants had the curiosity to visit their unfortunate countrymen, and came home with a deplorable story, that, by what they had heard, it seemed to be a mistake; and that they were all like to die innocent; but, however, that it was without remedy, that their graves were digging, and they were to be shot next morning. Sir William Temple left nothing unattempted to prevent their sudden execution; and sent to the officers to threaten them, that he would complain first to the Prince, and then to the King, who, he was sure, would demand reparation, if so many of his subjects suffered unjustly: but nothing would move them, till he made it his last request to reprieve them one day, during which the Prince happened to come within reach of returning an answer to a message he sent, and they were released. The first thing they did was to go and look at their graves; and

Digitized by Google

the next, to come and thank Sir William Temple upon their knees.

In July 1676, he removed his family to Nimeguen, where he passed that year without making any progress in the treaty, which, owing to various circumstances, was then at a stand; and, the year after, his son was sent over with letters from the Lord Treasurer, to order him to return and succeed Mr. Coventry in his place of Secretary of State, which the latter made some difficulty of resigning, unless he had leave to name his successor, which the King refused. Sir William Temple, who was not ambitious of the change at this time, requested his Majesty would defer it until all parties were agreed, and the treaty he was then concerned in concluded. This business, however, required his presence in England, and he did not return to Nimeguen that year. About the same time the Prince of Orange came over and married the Lady Mary, which seems to have occasioned a coolness between Sir William Temple and Lord Arlington, the latter being offended at Sir William's intimacy with the Lord Treasurer Osborn, who was related to Lady Temple, they two being the only persons intrusted with the affair of the marriage.

In the mean time, in 1678, the King finding that affairs were not likely to come to any conclusion with France, sent for Sir William Temple to the council, and told him, that he intended he should go to Holland, in order to form a treaty of alliance with the States; and that the purpose of

Digitized by Google

it should be, like the triple league, to force both France and Spain to accept of the terms proposed. Temple was sorry to find this act of vigour qualified by such a regard to France, and by such an appearance of indifference and neutrality between the parties. He told the King, that the resolution agreed on, was to begin the war in conjunction with all the Confederates, in case of no direct and immediate answer from France; that this measure would satisfy the Prince, the Allies, and the people of England; advantages which could not be expected from such an alliance with Holland alone; that France would be disobliged, and Spain likewise; nor would the Dutch be satisfied with such a faint imitation of the triple league, a measure concerted when they were equally at league with both parties. For these reasons Sir William Temple declined the employment; and Lawrence Hyde, second son of the Chancellor Clarendon, was sent in his place; and although the measure was not palatable to the Prince, the States concluded the treaty in the terms proposed by the King. Just afterwards we find the King a little out of humour with Sir William Temple; and when the Parliament would not pass the supplies without some security against the prevalence of the Popish party, the King thought proper to reproach Temple with his popular notions, as he termed them; and asked him how he thought the House of Commons could be trusted in carrying on the war, should it be entered on, when in the very commencement they

Digitized by Google

made such declarations? Sir William, however, was not daunted by this reproach; and when the King, thwarted by his Parliament, began to lend an ear to the proposals of the King of France, who offered him great sums of money, if he would consent to France's making an advantageous peace with the allies, Sir William, though pressed by his Majesty, refused to have any concern in so dishonourable a negotiation. He informs us that the King said, there was one article proposed, which so incensed him, that as long as he lived, he should never forget it. What it was Sir William does not mention; but Dean Swift, who was the editor of his works, informs us, that the French, before they would agree to any payment, required as a preliminary, that King Charles should engage never to keep above 8000 regular troops in Great Britain!

Sir William appears frequently to have retired from Court disgusted with the fluctuating counsels which prevailed there, but was ever ready to lend his aid to measures which bore the appearance of public advantage: and in July 1678, upon the discovery of the French design not to evacuate the Spanish towns agreed on by the treaty to be delivered up, the King commanded him to go upon a third embassy to the States, with whom he concluded a treaty, by which England engaged, upon the refusal of the French to evacuate the towns in forty days, to declare immediate war with France: but, before half that time was run out, one Du Cros was sent from our Court into

Digitized by Google

Holland, upon an errand that again embarrassed the relative state of affairs; and such sudden and capricious changes in our councils, which Sir William Temple had seen too often to be astonished at, increased his growing distaste to all public employment.

In 1679, he went back to Nimeguen, where the French delayed signing the treaty to the last hour; and after he had concluded it, he returned to the Hague, from whence he was soon sent for to enter upon the Secretary's place, which Mr. Coventry was at last resolved to part with; and my Lord Sunderland, who was newly come into the other, pressed him with much earnestness to accept. He very unwillingly obeyed his Majesty's commands to come over, as he had long at heart a visit he had promised to make the Great Duke, as soon as his embassy was ended; having begun a particular acquaintance with him in England, and kept up a correspondence ever since. Besides, having so ill succeeded in the designs (which no man ever more steadily pursued in the course of his employments) of doing his country the best service, and advancing its honour and greatness to the height of which he thought it capable, he resolved to ask leave of the King to retire. At this time, indeed, no person could engage in public affairs with a worse prospect; the Popish plot being newly broke out, and the Parliament violent in the persecution of it, although it is now generally allowed to have been an absurd imposture. On these accounts, although the King, who, after the removal of the

Digitized by Google

Lord Treasurer Danby, whom the Parliament sent to the Tower, had no one with whom he could discourse with freedom on public affairs, Sir William, alarmed at the universal discontents and jealousies which prevailed, was determined to make his retreat, as soon as possible, from a scene which threatened such confusion. Meanwhile, as he could not refuse the confidence with which his Master honoured him, he represented to the King, that, as the jealousies of the nation were extreme, it was necessary to cure them by some new remedy, and to restore that mutual confidence, so requisite for the safety both of the King and people; that to refuse every thing to the Parliament in their present disposition, or to yield every thing, was equally dangerous to the constitution, as well as to public tranquillity; that if the King would introduce into his councils such men as enjoyed the confidence of his people, fewer concessions would probably be required; or if unreasonable demands were made, the King, under the sanction of such counsellors, might be enabled, with the greater safety, to refuse them; and that the heads of the popular party, being gratified with the King's favour, would probably abate of that violence by which they endeavoured at present to pay court to the multitude.

The King assented to these reasons; and, in concert with Temple, laid the plan of a new Privy-council, without whose advice he declared himself determined for the future to take no measure of importance. This council was to consist

Digitized by Google

of thirty persons, and was never to exceed that number. Fifteen of the chief officers of the Crown were to be continued, who, it was supposed, would adhere to the King, and, in case of any extremity, oppose the exorbitances of faction. The other half of the council was to be composed, either of men of character, detached from the Court, or of those who possessed chief credit in both Houses. The experiment seemed at first to give some satisfaction to the people; but as Shaftesbury was made president of the council, contrary to the advice of Sir William Temple, the plan upon the whole was of little avail. Temple often joined them, though he kept himself detached from public business. When the bill was proposed for putting restrictions on the Duke of York, as successor to the throne, Shaftesbury thought them insufficient, and was for a total exclusion; but Sir William Temple thought them so rigorous as even to subvert the constitution; and that shackles, put upon a Popish successor, would not afterwards be easily cast off by a Protestant.

In 1680, when the Council was again changed, Sir William gradually withdrew himself, for reasons which he has assigned in the Third Part of his Memoirs; but soon after the King sent for him again, and proposed his going ambassador into Spain, and giving credit to an alliance pretended to be made with that Crown, against the meeting of the Parliament; but when his equipage was almost ready, the King changed his mind, and told him, he would have him defer his journey till

Digitized by Google

the end of the sessions of Parliament, of which he was chosen a member for the University of Cambridge, and in which the factions ran so high, that he saw it impossible to bring them to any temper. The Duke of York was sent into Scotland: that would not satisfy them, nor any thing but a bill of exclusion, against which he always declared himself, being a legal man, and said, his endeavours should ever be to unite the royal family, but that he would never enter into any counsels to divide them. This famous bill, after long contests, was thrown out, and the Parliament dissolved; and it was upon his Majesty's taking this resolution without the advice of his Privy Council, contrary to what he had promised, that Sir William Temple spoke so boldly there, and was so ill-used for taking that liberty, by some of those friends who had been most earnest in promoting the last change. Upon this he grew quite tired with public business, refused the offer he had of serving again for the University in the next Parliament, that was soon after called and met at Oxford, and was even uneasy with the name of a Privy Counsellor: but this he soon got rid of; for the Duke being returned, and all the councils changed, Lord Sunderland's, Essex's, and Sir William Temple's names were by the King's order all struck out of the council-book together. On this occasion he informed His Majesty that he would live the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his kingdom, but never more meddle with public affairs. The King assured him that he was not at all angry,

Digitized by Google

and ever after received his visits, when he came into the neighbourhood of Sheen, with respect: nor was less attention shewn to Sir William by King James, who used to address his conversation to him the moment he saw him enter the room of the palace at Richmond.

After this retirement, which occurred in 1685, Sir William Temple continued a year at Sheen, and, having purchased a small seat called Moor Park, near Farnham in Surrey, which he preferred for its retirement, and the healthy and pleasant situation, and being much afflicted with the gout, and broken with age and infirmities, he resolved to pass the remainder of his life there; and in November 1686, in his way thither, waited on King James, then at Windsor, and begged his favour and protection to one that would always live a good subject, but, whatever happened, never enter again upon any public employment; and desired his Majesty never to give credit to whatever he might hear to the contrary. The King, who used to say, Sir William Temple's character was always to be believed, promised him what he desired, made him some reproaches for not coming into his service, which he said was his own fault, and kept his word as faithfully to Sir William Temple, as he did to his Majesty during the turn of affairs that soon after followed by the Prince of Orange's coming over, which is said to have been so great a secret to him, that he was not only wholly unacquainted with it, but one of the last men in England that believed it.

Digitized by Google

At the time of this revolution in 1688, Moor Park growing unsafe by lying in the way of both armies, he went back to the house he had given up to his son at Sheen, whom he would not permit to go and meet the Prince of Orange at his landing, as this might appear a breach of his engagement, never to join in any measure that seemed to divide the royal family. After King James's abdication, and the Prince's arrival at Windsor, however, Sir William Temple went to wait upon his Highness, along with his son. On this occasion the Prince pressed him to enter into his service, and to be Secretary of State; said, it was in kindness to him that he had not been acquainted with his design; came to him two or three times at Sheen, and several of his friends made him very uneasy, in urging how much the Prince (who was his friend), his country, and his religion, must suffer by his obstinate refusal to engage in their defence; adding, that his conduct would give the world an unfavourable opinion of this great undertaking, and make them mistrust some bad design at the bottom, which a man of his truth and honour did not care to be concerned in. Sir William, however, continued unshaken in his resolutions, although very sensible of the trouble and uneasiness the Prince and all his friends expressed, and was the more anxious to return to his retirement at Moor Park, about the end of the year 1689, that he might be less exposed to similar solicitations.

From that time he employed himself wholly in the cares and amusements of a country life, and

Digitized by Google

saw little company; but had the honour of being often consulted by King William in some of his secret and important affairs, and of a visit from him in his way from Winchester, and used to wait upon his Majesty at Richmond and Windsor, where he was always very graciously received with that easiness and familiarity, and particular confidence, that had begun in Holland so many years before.

Sir William Temple died towards the end of 1700, in his seventy-second year, at Moor Park, near Farnham in Surrey; where, according to express directions in his will, his heart was buried in a silver box, under the sun-dial in his garden. This sun-dial, we are told, was opposite to the window whence he used to contemplate and admire the works of nature with his sister, the ingenious Lady Giffard*; who, as she shared and eased the fatigues of his voyages and travels during his public employments, was the chief delight and comfort of his retirement in old age, as he had the misfortune to lose his Lady in 1694. As to his person, his stature was above the middle size: he was well-set and well-shaped; his hair chesnut brown, his face oval, his forehead large, a quick piercing eye, and a sedate and philosophical look. Those who have endeavoured to set Sir William's character in the best light, have allowed him to have had some tincture of vanity and spleen. Bishop Burnet has painted him most unfavourably, allow-

* Lady Giffard died in 1722, at the age of 84.

Digitized by Google

ing him to possess a true judgement in all affairs, and very good principles with relation to government, but in nothing else. The Bishop adds, that "he seemed to think, that things were as they are from all eternity; at least, he thought religion was fit only for the mob. He was a great admirer of the sect of Confucius in China, who were atheists themselves, but left religion to the rabble. He was a corrupter of all that came near him: and he delivered himself up wholly to study, ease, and pleasure." Burnet's dislike to Sir William Temple seems, therefore, to have arisen from a very sufficient cause; from his holding and propagating irreligious principles: but this others have not only doubted but peremptorily denied, and have cited his beautiful letter to Lady Essex, as a proof of his piety. Burnet, however, we perceive, allows him to have been a great statesman; and, in the very next words to those just cited, refers his reader for "an account of our affairs beyond sea, to his Letters; in which," says Burnet, "they are very truly and fully set forth."

Sir William Temple was not only a very able statesman and negotiator, but also a polite and elegant writer. As many of his works have been published, at different times, as amount to two volumes in folio; which have also been printed more than once in 8vo. His "Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands," were published in one volume, 8vo, in 1672. His "Miscellanea," consisting of ten tracts upon different subjects, were originally published in 2 vols.

Digitized by Google

8vo. One of these tracts is upon ancient and modern learning; and what he advanced there, as it in some measure gave occasion to, so it involved him in the controversy, which was soon after agitated here in England, concerning the superiority of the ancients and the moderns. His "Memoirs" also, of what had passed in his public employments, especially those abroad, make a very interesting part of his works. They were written in three parts; the First of which began with his journey to Munster, contained chiefly his negotiations of the triple alliance, and ended with his first retirement from public business, in 1671, a little before the second Dutch war. He began the Second Part with the approaches of the peace between England and Holland, in 1673, and concluded it with his being recalled from Holland in February 1678-9, after the conclusion of that of Nimeguen. The Third Part contains what passed from this peace to Sir William's retirement. The Second Part of these "Memoirs" was published in his life-time, and, it is believed, with his consent; though it is pretended that they were written only for the use of his son, and sent into the world without his knowledge. The Third Part was published by Swift, in 1709, many years after his death. The First Part was never published at all; and Swift, in the preface to the Third, tells us, that "Sir William often assured him he had burnt those Memoirs; and for that reason was content his letters during his embassies at the Hague and Aix-la-Chapelle (he might have added Munster)

Digitized by Google

should be printed after his death, to supply that loss. What it was," continues Swift, "that moved Sir William Temple to burn those First Memoirs, may, perhaps, be conjectured from some passages in the Second Part formerly printed. In one place the author has these words: 'My Lord Arlington, who made so great a figure in the former part of these Memoirs, was now grown out of all credit,' &c. In other parts he tells us, 'That that Lord was of the ministry which broke the triple alliance, advised the Dutch war and French alliance; and, in short, was at the bottom of all those ruinous measures which the court of England was then taking: so that, as I have been told from a good hand, and as it seems very probable, he could not think that Lord a person fit to be celebrated for his part in forwarding that famous league, while he was Secretary of State, who had made such counterpaces to destroy it.'"

In 1693, Sir William published an answer to a scurrilous pamphlet, entitled, "A Letter from Mr. du Cros to the Lord ———." This Du Cros bore very impatiently the character which Sir William had given him in the Second Part of his "Memoirs," and wrote the above letter to abuse him for it. In 1695, he published "An Introduction to the History of England:" in which some few mistakes have been discovered; as his speaking of William the Conqueror abolishing the trial of camp-fight, or duel, who, on the contrary, introduced it. Not long after his death, Dr. Swift, then domestic chaplain to the Earl of Berkley,

Digitized by Google

who lived many years as an amanuensis in Sir William Temple's family, published two volumes of his "Letters," containing an account of the most important transactions that passed in Christendom, from 1667 to 1672; and, in 1703, a third volume, containing "Letters to King Charles II., the Prince of Orange, the chief Ministers of State, and other persons," in 8vo. The editor informs us, that these papers were the last of this or any kind, about which he had received his particular commands; and that they were corrected by himself, and transcribed in his life-time.—The whole of his Works are now before the reader.

Sir William Temple had one son, John Temple, Esq.; a man of great abilities and accomplishments, and who, soon after the Revolution, was appointed Secretary at War by King William; but he had scarce been a week in that office, when he drowned himself at London bridge. This extraordinary affair happened the 14th of April, 1689, when Mr. Temple, having spent the whole morning at his office, took a boat about noon, as if he designed to go to Greenwich; when he had got a little way, he ordered the waterman to set him ashore, and then finishing some dispatches which he had forgot, proceeded. Before he threw himself out, he dropped in the boat a shilling for the waterman, and a note to this effect:

"My folly in undertaking what I was not able to perform, has done the King and kingdom a great deal of prejudice. I wish him all happiness, and abler servants than JOHN TEMPLE."

Digitized by Google

It was thought, at first, that he meant by this his incapacity for the Secretaryship at War, which he had asked the King leave to resign the day before; but the fact was, that he had been melancholy for some months before, and the great prejudice to the King's affairs, mentioned in his note, could not be occasioned by mistakes committed in a place in which he had yet done little or nothing. Another cause of his melancholy is assigned, which carries more probability. General Richard Hamilton being upon suspicion confined in the Tower, Mr. Temple visited him sometimes upon the score of a former acquaintance; when discoursing upon the present juncture of affairs, and how to prevent the effusion of blood in Ireland, the general said, "That the best way was, to send thither a person in whom Tyrconnel could trust; and he did not doubt, if such a person gave him a true account of things in England, he would readily submit." Mr. Temple communicated this overture to the King, who approving of it, and looking upon General Hamilton to be the properest person for such a service, asked Mr. Temple whether he could be trusted? Temple readily engaged his word for him, and Hamilton was sent to Ireland; but, instead of discharging his commission and persuading Tyrconnel to submit, he encouraged him as much as possible to stand out, and offered him his assistance, which Tyrconnel gladly accepted. Mr. Temple contracted an extreme melancholy upon Hamilton's desertion; although the King assured him he was

Digitized by Google

convinced of his innocence. Mr. Temple had married Mademoiselle Du Plessis Rambouillet, a French lady, who had by him two daughters, to whom Sir William bequeathed the bulk of his estate; but with this express condition, that they should not marry Frenchmen: "a nation," says Boyer, "to whom Sir William ever bore a general hatred, upon account of their imperiousness and arrogance to foreigners."

Hume's character of Sir William Temple is accurate and comprehensive. "Of all the considerable writers of this age," says that historian, "Sir William Temple is almost the only one that kept himself altogether unpolluted by that inundation, of vice and licentiousness which overwhelmed the nation. The style of this author, though extremely negligent, and even infected with foreign idioms, is agreeable and interesting. That mixture of vanity which appears in his Works, is rather a recommendation to them. By means of it, we enter into acquaintance with the character of the author, full of honour and humanity; and fancy that we are engaged, not in the perusal of a book, but in conversation with a companion."

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

AN

ESSAY

UPON

THE ORIGINAL AND NATURE

OF

GOVERNMENT.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1672.

THE nature of man seems to be the same in all times and places, but varied, like their statures, complexions, and features, by the force and influence of the several climates where they are born and bred; which produce in them, by a different mixture of the humours, and operation of the air, a different and unequal course of imaginations and passions, and consequently of discourses and actions.

These differences incline men to several customs, educations, opinions, and laws, which form and govern the several nations of the world, where they are not interrupted by the violence of some force from without, or some faction within, which, like a great blow, or a great disease, may either change or destroy the very frame of a body; though, if it lives to recover strength and vigour, it commonly returns in time to its natural constitution, or something near it.

(I speak not of those changes and revolutions of State, or institutions of government, that are made

Digitized by Google

by the more immediate and evident operation of divine will and providence; being the themes of divines, and not of common men; and the subjects of our faith, not of reason.)

This may be the cause that the same countries have generally in all times been used to forms of government much of a sort; the same nature ever continuing under the same climate, and making returns into its old channel, though sometimes led out of it by persuasions, and sometimes beaten out by force.

Thus the more northern and southern nations (extremes, as they say, still agreeing) have ever lived under single and arbitrary dominions; as all the regions of Tartary and Muscovy on the one side, and of Afric and India on the other: while those under the more temperate climates, especially in Europe, have ever been used to more moderate governments, running anciently much into commonwealths, and of later ages into principalities bounded by laws which differ less in nature than in name.

For, though the old distinctions run otherwise, there seem to be but two general kinds of government in the world; the one exercised according to the arbitrary commands and will of some single person; and the other according to certain orders or laws introduced by agreement or custom, and not to be changed without the consent of many.

But under each of these may fall many more particular kinds than can be reduced to the common heads of government received in the schools. For those of the first sort differ according to the dispositions and humours of him that rules, and of them that obey: as fevers do according to the temper of the persons, and accidents of the seasons. And those of the other sort differ according to the quality or number of the persons upon whom is

Digitized by Google

devolved the authority of making, or power of executing, laws.

Nor will any man, that understands the state of Poland, and the United Provinces, be well able to range them under any particular names of government that have been yet invented.

The great scenes of action, and subjects of ancient story, Greece, Italy, and Sicily, were all divided into small commonwealths, till swallowed up and made provinces by that mighty one of Rome, together with Spain, Gaul, and Germany. These were before composed of many small governments, among which the cities were generally under commonwealths, and the countries under several Princes, who were Generals in their wars, but, in peace, lived without armies or guards, or any instruments of arbitrary power; and were only chief of their councils, and of those assemblies by whose consultations and authority the great affairs and actions among them were resolved and enterprised.

Through all these regions, some of the smaller States, but chiefly those of the cities, fell often under tyrannies, which spring naturally out of popular governments; while the meaner sort of the people, oppressed or ill protected by the richer and greater, give themselves up to the conduct of some one man in chief credit among them, and submit all to his will and discretion, either running easily from one extreme to another, or contented to see those, they hated and feared before, now in equal condition with themselves; or because a multitude is incapable of framing orders, though capable of conserving them: or that every man comes to find by experience, that confusion and popular tumults have worse effects upon common safety, than the rankest tyranny. For it is easier to please the humour, and either appease or resist

Digitized by Google

the fury, of one single man, than of a multitude. And, taking each of them in their extremes, the rage of a tyrant may be like that of fire, which consumes what it reaches but by degrees, and devouring one house after another; whereas the rage of people is like that of the sea, which, once breaking bounds, overflows a country with that suddenness and violence, as leaves no hopes either of flying or resisting, till, with the change of tides or winds, it returns of itself.

The force and variety of accidents is so great, that it will not perhaps bear reasoning, or inquiry, how it comes about that single arbitrary dominion seems to have been natural to Asia and Afric, and the other sort to Europe. For though Carthage was indeed a commonwealth in Afric, and Macedon a kingdom in Europe; yet the first was not native of that soil (being a colony of the Tyrians, as there were some other small ones of the Grecians upon the same coasts) and the King of Macedon governed by laws, and the consent, as well as councils, of the Nobles; not, like the Kings of Persia, by humour and will; as appears by the event of their quarrel, while so few subjects conquered so many slaves.

Yet one reason may be, that Sicily, Greece, and Italy (which were the regions of commonwealths) were planted thick with rich and populous cities (occasioned by their being so far encompassed with the sea) and the vein of all rich cities ever inclines to that kind of government; whether it be, that, where many grow rich, many grow to power, and are harder to be subjected: or, where men grow to great possessions, they grow more intent upon safety, and therefore desire to be governed by laws and magistrates of their own choice, fearing all armed and arbitrary power; or that the small compass of cities makes the ease and convenience of

Digitized by Google

assemblies and councils; or that conversation sharpens men's wits, and makes too many reasoners in matters of government.

The contrary of all this happens in countries thin inhabited, and especially in vast campania's, such as are extended through Asia and Afric, where there are few cities besides what grow by the residence of the Kings or their governors. The people are poorer, and, having little to lose, have little to care for, and are less exposed to the designs of power or violence. The assembling of persons, deputed from people at great distances one from another, is trouble to them that are sent, and charge to them that send. And, where ambition and avarice have made no entrance, the desire of leisure is much more natural, than of business and care: besides, men conversing all their lives with the woods and the fields, and the herds, more than with one another, come to know as little as they desire, use their senses a great deal more than their reasons; examine not the nature or the tenure of power and authority; find only they are fit to obey, because they are not fit to govern; and so come to submit to the will of him they found in power, as they do to the will of Heaven, and consider all changes of conditions, that happen to them under good or bad Princes, like good or ill seasons, that happen in the weather and the air.

It may be said further, that, in the more intemperate climates, the spirits, either exhaled by heat, or compressed by cold, are rendered faint and sluggish; and by that reason the men grow tamer, and fitter for servitude. That, in more temperate regions, the spirits are stronger, and more active, whereby men become bolder in the defence or recovery of their liberties.

But all government is a restraint upon liberty; and, under all, the dominion is equally absolute where it is in the last resort.

Digitized by Google

So that when men seem to contend for liberty, it is indeed but for the change of those that rule, or for the forms of government they have formerly been used to, and (being grown weary of the present) now begin to regret; though when they enjoyed them it was not without some pressure and complaint. Nor can it be, in the other case, that when vast numbers of men submit their lives and fortunes absolutely to the will of one, it should be want of heart, but must be force of custom, or opinion, the true ground and foundation of all government, and that which subjects power to authority. For power, arising from strength, is always in those that are governed, who are many: but authority, arising from opinion, is in those that govern, who are few.

This distinction is plain in the forms of the old Roman State, where laws were made, and resolutions taken, *authoritate senatûs*, and *jussu populi*. The senate were authors of all counsels in the State; and what was by them consulted and agreed, was proposed to the people, by whom it was enacted, or commanded; because in them was the power to make it be obeyed. But the great opinion which the people had at first of the persons of the Senators, and afterwards of their families (which were called Patricians) gained easy assent to what was thus proposed, the authority of the persons adding great weight to the reason of the things. And this went so far, that though the choice of all magistrates was wholly in the people, yet, for a long course of years, they chose none but Patricians, into the great offices of State, either civil or military. But when the people began to lose the general opinion they had of the Patricians, or at least so far as to believe some among themselves were as able and fit, as these, to advise the State and lead their armies, they then pretended to share with the Senate in the magistracy, and bring in

Digitized by Google

Plebeians to the offices of chiefest power and dignity. And hereupon began those seditions which so long distempered, and at length ruined, that State.

AUTHORITY arises from the opinion of wisdom, goodness, and valour in the persons who possess it.

Wisdom is that which makes men judge what are the best ends, and what the best means to attain them; and gives a man advantage among the weak and the ignorant, as sight among the blind; which is that of counsel and direction: this gives authority to age among the younger, till these being at certain years change their opinion of the old, and of themselves. This gives it more absolute to a pilot at sea, whom all the passengers suffer to steer them as he pleases.

Goodness is that which makes men prefer their duty and their promise, before their passions or their interest; and is properly the object of trust: in our language, it goes rather by the name of honesty; though what we call an honest man, the Romans called a good man: and honesty in their language, as well as in French, rather signifies a composition of those qualities which generally acquire honour and esteem to those who possess them.

Valour, as it gives awe, and promises protection, to those who want either heart or strength to defend themselves: this makes the authority of men among women; and that of a master-buck in a numerous herd, though perhaps not strong enough for any two of them; but the impression of single fear holds when they are all together, by the ignorance of uniting.

Eloquence, as it passes for a mark of wisdom; beauty, of goodness; and nobility, of valour (which was its original), have likewise ever some effect upon the opinion of the people; but a very great

Digitized by Google

one when they are really joined with the qualities they promise or resemble.

There is yet another source from which usually springs greater authority than from all the rest; which is the opinion of divine favour or designation of the persons, or of the races that govern. This made the Kings among the heathens ever derive themselves, or their ancestors, from some God; passing thereby for heroes, that is, persons issued from the mixture of divine and human race, and of a middle nature between Gods and men: others joined the mitre to the crown, and thereby the reverence of divine, to the respect of civil power. This made the Caliphs of Persia and Egypt, and the great Emperors of Arabia, derive themselves by several branches from their great prophet Mahomet: the Yncas in Peru from the Sun: and the Ottoman race to be adored among the Turks, as designed by Heaven for perpetual empire. And the sacring of the Kings of France (as Loysel says) is the sign of their sovereign priesthood, as well as kingdom; and in the right thereof they are capable of holding all vacant benefices of the church.

Piety, as it is thought a way to the favour of God; and fortune, as it looks like the effect either of that, or at least of prudence and courage, beget authority. As likewise splendor of living in great palaces, with numerous attendance, much observance, and rich habits differing from common men: both as it seems to be the reward of those virtues already named, or the effect of fortune; or as it is a mark of being obeyed by many.

From all these authority arises, but is by nothing so much strengthened and confirmed as by custom. For no man easily distrusts the persons, or disputes the things, which he and all men that he knows of have been always bred up to observe and believe; or, if he does, he will hardly hope or venture to in-

Digitized by Google

troduce opinions wherein he knows none or few of his mind, and thinks all others will defend those already received: so as no man nor party can offer at the change of a government established without first gaining new authority by the steps already traced out; and in some degree debasing the old by appearance or impressions of contrary qualities in those who before enjoyed it. This induces a general change of opinion concerning the person or party like to be obeyed or followed by the greatest or strongest part of the people: according to which, the power or weakness of each is to be measured. So as in effect all government may be esteemed to grow strong or weak, as the general opinion of these qualities in those that govern is seen to lessen or increase.

And power must be allowed to follow authority in all civil bodies; as in natural, the motions of the body follow those of the mind; great numbers ever acting and pursuing what the few (whom they trust) begin or advise.

From this principle, and from the discovery of some natural authority, may perhaps be deduced a truer original of all governments among men, than from any contracts: though these be given us by the great writers concerning politics and laws. Some of them lay for their foundation, that men are sociable creatures, and naturally disposed to live in numbers and troops together. Others, that they are naturally creatures of prey, and in a state of war one upon another; so as to avoid confusion in the first case, and violence in the other, they found out the necessity of agreeing upon some orders and rules, by which every man gives up his common right for some particular possession, and his power to hurt and spoil others for the privilege of not being hurt or spoiled

Digitized by Google

himself. And the agreement upon such orders, by mutual contract, with the consent to execute them by common strength and endeavours, they make to be the rise of all civil governments.

I know not whether they consider what it is that makes some creatures sociable, and others live and range more alone, or in smaller companies; but I suppose those creatures whose natural and necessary food is easy and plentiful, as grass, or plants, or fruits (the common product of the earth) are the sociable creatures, because, where-ever they go, they usually find what they want, and enough for them all, without industry or contention. And those live more alone, whose food (and therefore prey) is upon other sensitive creatures, and so not attained without pursuit and violence, and seldom in such quantities at once, as to satisfy the hunger of great numbers together. Yet this does not hold so far, but that ravens are seen in flocks where a carrion lies, and wolves in herds to run down a deer. Nay, they feed quietly together while there is enough for them all; quarrel only when it begins to fail; and when it is ended, they scatter to seek out new encounters. Besides, those, called sociable, quarrel in hunger and in lust, as well as the others; and the bull and the ram appear then as much in fury and war, as the lion and the bear. So that, if mankind must be ranged to one of these sorts, I know not well to which it will be: and considering the great differences of customs and dispositions in several men, and even in the same men at several times, I very much doubt they must be divided into several forms. Nor do I know, if men are like sheep, why they need any government; or, if they are like wolves, how they can suffer it. Nor have I read where the orders of any state have been agreed on by mutual contract among great numbers of men, meeting together in that natural

Digitized by Google

state of war, where every man takes himself to have equal right to every thing. But often, where such orders have been invented by the wisdom, and received by the authority, of some one man, under the name of a lawgiver; and where this has not happened, the original of government lies as undiscovered in story, as that of time: all nations appearing, upon the first records that are left us, under the authority of kings, or princes, or some other magistrates.

Besides, this principle of contract, as the original of government, seems calculated for the account given by some of the old poets, of the original of man, whom they raise out of the ground by great numbers at a time, in perfect stature and strength. Whereas, if we deduce the several races of mankind in the several parts of the world from generation, we must imagine the first numbers of them, who in any place agree upon any civil constitutions, to assemble not as so many single heads, but as so many heads of families, whom they represent, in the framing any compact or common accord; and consequently, as persons who have already an authority over such numbers as their families are composed of.

For if we consider a mán multiplying his kind by the birth of many children, and his cares by providing even necessary food for them, till they are able to do it for themselves (which happens much later to the generations of men, and makes a much longer dependence of children upon parents, than we can observe among any other creatures): if we consider not only the cares, but the industry he is forced to, for the necessary sustenance of his helpless brood, either in gathering the natural fruits, or raising those which are purchased with labour and toil; if he be forced for supply of this stock to catch the tamer creatures, and hunt

Digitized by Google

the wilder, sometimes to exercise his courage in defending his little family, and fighting with the strong and savage beasts (that would prey upon him as he does upon the weak and the mild); if we suppose him disposing with discretion and order whatever he gets among his children, according to each of their hunger or need, sometimes laying up for to-morrow what was more than enough for to-day, at other times pinching himself, rather than suffering any of them should want; and as each of them grows up, and able to share in the common support, teaching him both by lesson and example, what he is now to do as the son of this family, and what hereafter as the father of another; instructing them all, what qualities are good, and what are ill, for their health and life, or common society (which will certainly comprehend whatever is generally esteemed virtue or vice among men), cherishing and encouraging dispositions to the good; disfavouring and punishing those to the ill; and lastly, among the various accidents of life, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, when the earth affords him no relief; and having recourse to a higher and a greater nature, whenever he finds the frailty of his own; we must needs conclude, that the children of this man cannot fail of being bred up with a great opinion of his wisdom, his goodness, his valour, and his piety. And, if they see constant plenty in the family, they believe well of his fortune too.

And from all this must naturally arise a great paternal authority, which disposes his children (at least till the age when they grow fathers themselves) to believe what he teaches, to follow what he advises, and obey what he commands.

Thus the father, by a natural right as well as authority, becomes a governor in this little State; and if his life be long, and his generations many

Digitized by Google

(as well as those of his children), he grows the governor or King of a nation, and is indeed a *pater patriæ*, as the best kings are, and as all should be; and as those, which are not, are yet content to be called. Thus the peculiar compellation of the King, in France, is by the name of *Sire*, which in their ancient language is nothing else but father, and denotes the Prince to be the father of the nation. For a nation properly signifies a great number of families, derived from the same blood, born in the same country, and living under the same government and civil constitutions; as *Patria* does the land of our father; and so the Dutch, by expressions of dearness, instead of our country, say our father-land. With such nations we find in Scripture all the lands of Judæa, and the adjacent territories, were planted of old; with such the many several provinces of Greece and Italy, when they began first to appear upon the records of ancient story or tradition; and with such was the main land of Gaul inhabited in the time of Cæsar; and Germany in that of Tacitus. Such were the many branches of the old British nation; the Scepts among the Irish; and such the infinite variety and numbers of nations in Afric and America upon the first discoveries, distinguished by their several names, and living under their several Kings or Princes, till they came to be swallowed up by greater empires.

These seem to have been the natural and original governments of the world, springing from a tacit deference of many to the authority of one single person. Under him (if the father of the family or nation) the elder of his children comes to acquire a degree of authority among the younger, by the same means the father did among them; and to share with him in the consultation and conduct of their common affairs. And this, together with an

Digitized by Google

opinion of wisdom from experience, may have brought in the authority of the elders so often mentioned among the Jews; and in general of aged men, not only in Sparta and Rome, but all other places in some degree, both civil and barbarous. For the names of Lord, *Signior*, *Seigneur*, *Sennor*, in the Italian, French, and Spanish languages, seem to have at first imported only elder men, who thereby were grown into authority among the several governments and nations, which seated themselves in those countries upon the fall of the Roman empire.

This perhaps brought in vogue that which is called the authority of the ancients in matters of opinion, though by a mistaken sense; for I suppose authority may be reasonably allowed to the opinion of ancient men in the present age; but I know not why it should be so to those of men in general that lived in ages long since past; nor why one age of the world should be wiser than another; or, if it be, why it should not be rather the latter, than the former, as having the same advantage of the general experience of the world, that an old man has of the more particular experiments of life.

Thus a family seems to become a little kingdom, and a kingdom to be but a great family.

Nor is it unlikely that this paternal jurisdiction in its successions, and with the help of accidents, may have branched out into the several heads of government commonly received in the schools. For a family, governed with order, will fall naturally to the several trades of husbandry, which are tillage, gardening, and pasturage (the product whereof was the original riches). For the managing of these and their increase, and the assistance of one man, who perhaps is to feed twenty, it may

Digitized by Google

be a hundred children (since it is not easily told how far generations may extend with the arbitrary choice and numbers of women, practised anciently in most countries) the use of servants comes to be necessary. These are gained by victory and captives, or by fugitives out of some worse governed family, where either they cannot or like not to live, and so sell their liberty to be assured of what is necessary to life; or else by the debased nature of some of the children who seem born to drudgery, or who are content to increase their pains that they may lessen their cares, and upon such terms become servants to some of their brothers whom they most esteem or choose soonest to live with.

The family, thus increased, is still under the father's common, though not equal care; that what is due to the servants by contract, or what is fit for them to enjoy, may be provided, as well as the portions of the children; and that whatever they acquire by their industry or ingenuity (beyond what the masters expect, or exact from them by the conditions of their servitude) should be as much their property as any divisions of land or of stock that are made to the sons; and the possession as secure, unless forfeited by any demerit or offence against the customs of the family, which grow with time to be the orders of this little State.

Now the father of a family or nation, that uses his servants like children in point of justice and care; and advises with his children in what concerns the commonweal, and thereby is willingly followed and obeyed by them all; is what I suppose the schools mean by a Monarch. And he that by harshness of nature, wilfulness of humour, intemperance of passions, and arbitrariness of commands, uses his children like servants, is what they mean by a Tyrant. And whereas the first thought himself safe in the love and obedience of his chil-

Digitized by Google

dren; the other, knowing that he is feared and hated by them, thinks he cannot be safe among his children, but by putting arms into the hands of such of his servants as he thinks most at his will; which is the original of guards. For against a foreign enemy, and for defence of evident interest, all that can bear arms in a nation are soldiers. Their cause is common safety; their pay is honour; and, when they have purchased these, they return to their homes and former conditions of peaceable lives. Such were all the armies of Greece and of Rome in the first ages of their states. Such were their *gens d'ordonnance* in France, and the train-bands in England: but standing troops, and in constant pay, are properly servants armed, who use the lance and the sword, as other servants do the sickle or the bill, at the command and will of those who entertain them. And therefore martial law is of all other the most absolute, and not like the government of a father, but a master.

And this brings in another sort of power distinct from that already described, which follows authority, and consists in the willing obedience of the people; but this in the command of soldiers, who as servants are bound to execute the will and orders of those that lead them. And as authority follows the qualities before-mentioned, so this power follows riches, or the opinion of it; a multitude of servants being his that is able to maintain them. And these kind of forces come to be used by good Princes, only upon necessity of providing for their defence against great and armed neighbours or enemies; but by ill ones, as a support of decayed authority, or as they lose the force of that which is natural and paternal, and so grow to set up an interest of those that govern, different from that of those that are governed, which ought ever to be the same.

Yet this seems a much weaker principle of go-

Digitized by Google

vernment than the other; for the number of soldiers can never be great in proportion to that of people, no more than the number of those that are idle in a country, to that of those who live by labour or industry: so as if the people come to unite by any strong passion, or general interest, or under the wise conduct of any authority well rooted in their minds, they are masters of armies. Besides, the humour of the people runs insensibly among the very soldiers, so as it seems much alike to keep off by guards a general infection, on an universal sedition: for the distemper in both kinds is contagious, and seizes upon the defenders themselves. Besides, common pay is a faint principle of courage and action, in comparison of religion, liberty, honour, revenge, or necessity; which make every soldier have the quarrel as much at heart as their leaders, and seem to have spirited all the great actions and revolutions of the world. And, lastly, without the force of authority this power of soldiers grows pernicious to their master, who becomes their servant, and is in danger of their mutinies as much as any government can be of the seditions of a people.

If the father of our family govern it with prudence, goodness, and success, and his eldest son appear heir to the virtues and worth of his father, he succeeds in the government by a natural right, and by the strength of an authority both derived from his father, and acquired by his own personal qualities: but if either the eldest son, by qualities degenerate and ill, happen to lose all trust and opinion (and thereby authority) in the family; or else to die before his time, and leave a child in his room; when the father comes to fail, then the children fall into counsels of election, and either prefer the eldest of the sons then living, or perhaps one later, and so remoter in birth, according

Digitized by Google

as he may have acquired authority by those qualities which naturally produce it, and promise the best conduct and protection to the common affairs of the family.

Where the father comes to lose his authority, many of the elder, or wiser, of the sons increase in theirs by the same degree; and when both these arrive at a certain height, the nature of the government is ready for a change; and upon the father's death, or general defection of the family, they succeed in his authority, whilst the humour of the whole body runs against the succession or election of any single person, which they are grown weary of by so late an example; and thus comes in what they call an Aristocracy. But authority contracting itself (as it seems natural to do till it ends in a point or single person) this government falls sometimes into the hands of a few, who establish it in their families; and that is called an Oligarchy. If the authority come to be lost in either of these forms, while the children of the family grow into the manners and qualities, and perhaps into the condition and poverty, of servants; and while many of the servants, by industry and virtue, arrive at riches and esteem; then the nature of the government inclines to a Democracy, or popular State, which is nearest confusion, or Anarchy; and often runs into it, unless upheld or directed by the authority of one, or of some few in the State, though perhaps without titles, or marks of an extraordinary office or dignity.

Governments, founded upon contract, may have succeeded those founded upon authority: but the first of them should rather seem to have been agreed between Princes and subjects, than between men of equal rank and power. For the original of subjection was, I suppose, when one

Digitized by Google

nation warring against another (for things necessary to life, or for women, or for extent of land) overcame their enemies; if they only won a battle, and put their enemies to flight, those they took prisoners became their slaves, and continued so in their generations, unless infranchised by their masters: but if, by great slaughter, or frequent victories, they subdued the very courages of their enemies, while great numbers of them remained alive; then the vanquished nation became subject to the conquerors by agreement, and upon certain conditions of safety and protection, and perhaps equal enjoyment of liberties and customs with the common natives under the other government: if, by such frequent successes and additions, a nation extended itself over vast tracts of land and numbers of people, it thereby arrived in time at the ancient name of kingdom, or modern of empire.

After such a victory, the chiefest of the conquering nations become rich and great upon the divisions of lands, of spoils, and of slaves: by all which they grow into power, are Lords in their own lands, and over those that inhabit them, with certain rights or jurisdictions, and upon certain homages reserved to the Prince. The custom of employing these great persons in all great offices and councils grows to pass for a right; as all custom does with length and force of time.

The Prince that governs according to the conditions of subjection at first agreed upon (of which use is the authentic record), and according to the ancient customs, which are the original laws (and by which the right of succession in the Crown, as well as private inheritance and common justice, is directed and established), is called a lawful sovereign: he that breaks and violates these ancient constitutions (especially that of succession) is termed an usurper.

Digitized by Google

A free nation is that which has never been conquered, or thereby entered into any conditions of subjection; as the Romans were, before they were subdued by the Goths and Vandals; and as the Turks seem to be at this time, who, having been called from Scythia to assist the Grecian empire against that of the Saracens, made themselves masters of both.

In countries safer from foreign invasions either by seas or rivers, by mountains and passes, or great tracts of rough, barren, and uninhabited lands, people lived generally in scattered dwellings, or small villages: but, where invasion is easy, and passage open, and bordering nations are great and valiant; men crowd together, and seek their safety from numbers better united, and from walls and other fortifications, the use whereof is to make the few a match for the many, so as they may fight or treat on equal terms. And this is the original of cities; but the greatness and riches of them increase according to the commodiousness of their situation, in fertile countries, or upon rivers and havens, which surpass the greatest fertility of any soil, in furnishing plenty of all things necessary to life or luxury.

When families meet together, surround themselves by walls, fall into order and laws (either invented by the wisdom of some one, or some few men, and from the evidence of their public utility received by all; or else introduced by experience and time), and these cities preserve themselves in the enjoyment of their possessions, and observance of their institutions, against all invasions; and never are forced to submit to the will of any conqueror, or condition of any absolute subjection; they are called free cities; and of such there were many of old, in Greece and Sicily, deducing their original from some one founder or lawgiver: and

Digitized by Google

are many now in Germany subject to no laws but their own, and those of the Empire, which is an union of many sovereign powers, by whose general consent in their diets all its constitutions are framed and established.

Commonwealths were nothing more in their original, but free cities, though sometimes by force of orders and discipline, or of a numerous and valiant people, they have extended themselves into mighty dominions; and often, by situation and trade, grow to vast riches, and thereby to great power, by force of mercenary arms. And these seem to be more artificial, as those of a single person the more natural, governments; being forced to supply the want of authority by wise inventions, orders, and institutions.

For authority can never be so great in many as in one, because the opinion of those qualities, which acquire it, cannot be equal in several persons.

These governments seem to be introduced, either by the wisdom and moderation of some one lawgiver, who has authority enough with the people, to be followed and observed in all his orders and advices; and yet prefer that which he esteems public utility, before any interest or greatness of his own (such were Lycurgus in Sparta, and Solon in Athens, and Timoleon in Syracuse:) or else by the confluence of many families out of some countries exposed to some fierce or barbarous invasions, into places fortified by nature, and secure from the fury and misery of such conquests (such were Rhodes of old, and several small islands upon the coasts of Ionia; and such was Venice, founded upon the inundation of the barbarous nations over Italy): or lastly, by the suppression and extinction of some tyranny, which, being thrown off by the violent indignation of an oppres-

Digitized by Google

sed people, makes way for a popular government, or at least some form very contrary to that which they lately execrated and detested: such were Rome upon the expulsion of the Tarquins, and the United Provinces upon their revolt from Spain. Yet are none of these forms to be raised or upheld without the influence of authority, acquired by the force of opinion of those virtues above mentioned, which concurred in Brutus among the Romans, and in Prince William of Orange among those of the Netherlands.

I will not enter into the arguments or comparisons of the several forms of government that have been, or are in the world; wherein that cause seems commonly the better, that has the better advocate, or is advantaged by fresher experience, and impressions of good or evil, from any of the forms among those that judge: they have all their heights and their falls, their strong and weak sides; are capable of great perfections, and subject to great corruptions; and though the preference seem already decided in what has been said of a single person being the original and natural government; and that it is capable of the greatest authority (which is the foundation of all ease, safety, and order in the governments of the world) yet it may perhaps be the most reasonably concluded, That those forms are best, which have been longest received and authorized in a nation by custom and use; and into which the humours and manners of the people run with the most general and strongest current.

Or else, that those are the best governments, where the best men govern; and that the difference is not so great in the forms of magistracy, as in the persons of magistrates; which may be the sense of what was said of old (taking wise and good men to be meant by philosophers), that the best

Digitized by Google

governments were those, where Kings were philosophers, or philosophers Kings.

THE safety and firmness of any frame of government may be best judged by the rules of Architecture, which teach us that the Pyramid is of all figures the firmest, and least subject to be shaken or overthrown by any concussions or accidents from the earth or air; and it grows still so much the firmer, by how much broader the bottom and sharper the top.

The ground, upon which all government stands, is the consent of the people, or the greatest or strongest part of them; whether this proceed from reflections upon what is past, by the reverence of an authority under which they and their ancestors have for many ages been born and bred; or from a sense of what is present, by the ease, plenty, and safety they enjoy; or from opinions of what is to come, by the fear they have from the present government, or hopes from another. Now that government which by any of these, or all these ways, takes in the consent of the greatest number of the people, and consequently their desires and resolutions to support it, may justly be said to have the broadest bottom, and to stand upon the largest compass of ground; and, if it terminate in the authority of one single person, it may likewise be said to have the narrowest top, and so to make the figure of the firmest sort of pyramid.

On the contrary, a government which by alienating the affections, losing the opinions, and crossing the interests of the people, leaves out of its compass the greatest part of their consent, may justly be said, in the same degrees it thus loses ground, to narrow its bottom: and if this be done to serve the ambition, humour the passion, satisfy the appetites, or advance the power and interests

Digitized by Google

not only of one man, but of two, or more, or many that come to share in the government; by this means the top may be justly said to grow broader, as the bottom narrower by the other. Now by the same degrees that either of these happen, the stability of the figure is by the same lessened and impaired; so as at certain degrees it begins to grow subject to accidents of wind and weather; and at certain others, it is sure to fall of itself, or by the least shake that happens to the ground.

By these measures it will appear, that a monarchy where the prince governs by the affections, and according to the opinions and interests, of his people, or the bulk of them (that is, by many degrees the greatest or strongest part of them) makes of all others the safest and firmest government: and on the contrary, a popular state which is not founded in the general humours and interest of the people, but only of the persons who share in the government, or depend upon it, is of all others the most uncertain, unstable, and subject to the most frequent and easy changes.

That a monarchy the less it takes in of the people's opinions and interests, and the more it takes in of the passions and interest of particular men (besides those of the Prince, and contrary to those of the people) the more unstable it grows, and the more endangered by every storm in the air, or every shake of the earth: and a commonwealth, the more it takes in of the general humour and bent of the people, and the more it spires up to a head by the authority of some one person founded upon the love and esteem of the people; the firmer it stands, and less subject to danger or change by any concussions of earth or of air.

'Tis true that a pyramid reversed may stand a while upon its point, if balanced by admirable skill, and held up by perpetual care, and there be a calm

Digitized by Google

in the air about it: nay, if the point be very hard and strong, and the soil very yielding and soft; it may pierce into the ground with time, so as to grow the firmer the longer it stands: but this last can never happen if either the top of the figure be weak or soft, or if the soil be hard and rough; and at the best it is subject to be overthrown, if not by its own weight, yet whenever any foreign weight shall chance to fall upon any part of it; and the first must overturn whenever there happens any unequality in the balance, or any negligence in the hands that set it up; and, even without either of those, whenever there arises any violence to shake it, either from the winds abroad, or those in the bowels of the earth where it stands.

I will not pretend from this scheme to presage or judge of the future events that may attend any governments; which is the business of those that are more concerned in them than I am, and write with other design than that alone of discovering and clearing truth: but I think any man may deduce from it the causes of the several revolutions we may find upon record to have happened in the governments of the world; except such as have been brought about by the unresistable force and conquests of some nations over others whom they very much surmounted in strength, courage, and numbers: yet the brave, long, and almost incredible defences that have still been made by those governments, which were rooted in the general affections, esteem, and interests of the nation, make it seem probable that almost all the conquests we read of have been made way for, or in some measure facilitated, if not assisted, by the weakness of the conquered government, grown from the disesteem, dissatisfaction, or indifferency of the people; or from those vicious and effemi-

Digitized by Google

nate constitutions of body and mind among them, which ever grow up in the corrupt air of a weak or loose, a vicious or a factious, State; and such can never be strong in the hearts of the people, nor consequently firm upon that which is the true bottom of all governments in the world.

Thus the small Athenian State resisted with success the vast power and forces of the Persians in the time of Miltiades and Themistocles; Rome those of the Gauls in the time of Camillus, and the vast armies collected from Afric, Spain, and the greatest part of Italy, in the Carthaginian wars, (under the conduct of several great Captains, but chiefly Fabius and Scipio): the little principality of Epire was invincible by the whole power of the Turks in three several invasions under their Prince Castriot (commonly called Scanderbeg): the kingdom of Leon and Oviedo, by all the wars of the Moors or Saracens for many ages; the State of Venice, by those of the Turks; the Switzers, by the power of the Emperors; and the Hollanders by that of Spain; because in all these wars the people were both united and spirited by the common love of their country, their liberty, or religion, or by the more particular esteem and love of their Princes and leaders.

In the conquest of the Lydians by Cyrus, and the Persians by Alexander; of the great Asian and Egyptian Kings by the Roman State; and of all the Roman provinces by the several Northern (or, as they were usually called, barbarous) nations; of the Spaniards by the Moors; the Gauls by the Franks; and of our ancient Britons by the Saxons; it is easy and obvious to observe that the resistances were rendered faint and weak, either by the soft and effeminate dispositions of the people grown up under the easiness, or examples of vicious or luxurious Princes

Digitized by Google

whom they neither honour nor willingly obey; or else by the common hatred and disdain of their present servitude, which they were content to change for any other that came in their way; or lastly, by the distracted factions of a discontented nation, who agreed in no one common design or defence; nor under any authority grounded upon the general love or esteem of the people.

Of instability and changes of government arrived by narrowing their bottoms, which are the consent and concurrence of the people's affections and interests, all stories and ages afford continual example. From hence proceeded the frequent tumults, seditions, and alterations in the commonwealths of Athens and Rome, as often as either by the charms of orators, or the sway of men grown to unusual power and riches, the governments were engaged in counsels or actions contrary to the general interests of the people. Hence the several violent changes that have arrived in the races or persons of the Princes of England, France, or Spain: nor has the force hereof appeared any where more visible than in France, during the reign of Henry III. and a constant succession of minions (as they were then called), where all was conducted by the private passions, humours, and interests of a few persons in sole confidence with the King, contrary to those more public and current of the people; till he came to lose at first all esteem, and afterwards obedience, and, at last, his life in the troubles given him by the League.

That government was in the same manner exposed to the dominion of succeeding favourites during the regency of the Queen-mother, in the minority of Lewis XIII. which occasioned perpetual commotions in that State, and changes in the ministry; and would certainly have produced those in the go-

Digitized by Google

vernment too, if Richlieu, having gained the absolute ascendant in that Court, had not engaged in the designs, at first, of a war upon the Hugonots, and, after that was ended, upon Spain; in both which he fell in with the current humour and dispositions of the people; which, with the prosperous successes of both those enterprises, helped to bear up him and the government against all the hatred and continual practices of the great ones in the kingdom.

But the two freshest examples may be drawn from the revolutions of England in the year sixty, and of Holland in seventy-two. In the first, the usurped powers, that had either designed no root, or at least drawn none but only in the affections and interests of those that were engaged with the government; thought themselves secure in the strength of an unfoiled army of above sixty thousand men, and in a revenue proportionable, raised by the awe of their forces, though with the mock-forms of legal supplies by pretended Parliaments; yet we saw them forced to give way to the bent and current humour of the people, in favour of their ancient and lawful government; and this mighty army, of a sudden, lose their heart and their strength, abandon what they had so long called their cause and their interest, and content themselves to be moulded again into the mass of the people; and, by conspiring with the general humour of the nation, make way for the King's glorious restoration without a drop of blood drawn in the end of a quarrel, the beginning and course whereof had been so fatal to the kingdom.

For the other in Holland, the constitution of their government had continued twenty years in the hands of their popular magistrates, after the exclusion or intermission of the authority of the house of

Digitized by Google

Orange, upon the death of the last Prince, and infancy of this. The chief direction of their affairs had for eighteen years lain constantly in the hands of their Pensioner De Witt, a minister of the greatest authority and sufficiency, the greatest application and industry that was ever known in their State. In the course of his ministry, he and his party had reduced not only all the civil charges of the government in his Province, but in a manner all the military commands in the army, out of the hands of persons affectionate to the house of Orange, into those esteemed sure and fast to the interests of their more popular State. And all this had been attended, for so long a course of years, with the perpetual success of their affairs, by the growth of their trade, riches, and power at home, and the consideration of their neighbours abroad: yet the general humour of kindness in the people to their own form of government, under the Princes of Orange, grew up with the age and virtues of the young Prince, so as to raise the prospect of some unavoidable revolutions among them, for several years before it arrived. And we have seen it grow to that height in this present year, upon the Prince's coming to the two and twentieth of his age (the time assigned him by their constitutions for his entering upon the public charges of their milice), that, though it had found them in peace, it must have occasioned some violent sedition in their State: but, meeting with the conjuncture of a foreign invasion, it broke out into so furious a rage of the people, and such general tumults through the whole country, as ended in the blood of their chief ministers; in the displacing all that were suspected to be of their party throughout the government; in the full restitution of the Prince's authority to the highest point any of his ancestors ever enjoyed; but, with-

Digitized by Google

al, in such a distraction of their counsels, and their actions, as made way for the easy successes of the French invasion, for the loss of almost five of their Provinces in two months time, and for the general presages of utter ruin to their State.

Digitized by Google

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

UNITED PROVINCES

OF THE

NETHERLANDS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PREFACE.

HAVING lately seen the State of the United Provinces, after a prodigious growth in riches, beauty, extent of commerce, and number of inhabitants, arrived at length to such a height (by the strength of their natives, their fortified towns and standing-forces, with a constant revenue proportioned to the support of all this greatness) as made them the envy of some, the fear of others, and the wonder of all their neighbours:

We have, this summer past, beheld the same State, in the midst of great appearing safety, order, strength, and vigour, almost ruined and broken to pieces in some few days, and by very few blows; and reduced in a manner to its first principles of weakness and distress; exposed, oppressed, and very near at mercy: their inland provinces swallowed up by an invasion, almost as sudden, and unresisted, as the inundations to which the others are subject: and the remainders of their State rather kept alive by neglect or disconcert of its enemies, than by any strength of nature, or endeavours at its own recovery.

Now, because such a greatness, and such a fall of this State, seem revolutions unparalleled in any story, and hardly conceived even by those who have lately seen them; I thought it might be worth an idle man's time to give some account of the rise and progress of this commonwealth, the causes of their greatness, and the steps towards their fall: which were all made by motions, perhaps little taken

Digitized by Google

notice of by common eyes, and almost undiscernible to any man that was not placed to the best advantage, and something concerned, as well as much inclined, to observe them.

The usual duty of employments abroad, imposed not only by custom, but by orders of State, made it fit for me to prepare some formal account of this country and government, after two years' embassy in the midst of so great conjunctures and negotiations among them. And such a revolution as has since happened there, though it may have made these discourses little important to his Majesty, or his council; yet it will not have rendered them less agreeable to common eyes, who, like men that live near the sea, will run out upon the cliffs to gaze at it in a storm, though they would not look out of their windows, to see it in a calm.

Besides, at a time when the actions of this scene take up, so generally, the eyes and discourses of their neighbours, and the maps of their country grow so much in request; I thought a map of their State and government would not be unwelcome to the world, since it is full as necessary as the others to understand the late revolutions and changes among them. And as no man's story can be well written till he is dead; so the account of this State could not be well given till its fall, which may justly be dated from the events of last summer (whatever fortunes may further attend them), since therein we have seen the sudden and violent dissolution of that more popular government, which had continued, and made so much noise, for above twenty years, in the world, without the exercise or influence of the authority of the Princes of Orange, a part so essential in the first constitutions of their State. Nor can I wholly lose my pains in this adventure, when I shall gain the ease of answering this way, at once, those many questions I

Digitized by Google

have lately been used to upon this occasion: which made me first observe, and wonder, how ignorant we were, generally, in the affairs and constitutions of a country, so much in our eye, the common road of our travels, as well as subject of our talk, and which we have been, of late, not only curious, but concerned, to know.

I am very sensible, how ill a trade it is to write, where much is ventured, and little can be gained; since whoever does it ill, is sure of contempt; and the justliest that can be, when no one provokes him to discover his own follies, or to trouble the world. If he writes well, he raises the envy of those wits that are possessed of the vogue, and are jealous of their preferment there, as if it were in love, or in state; and have found, that the nearest way to their own reputation lies, right or wrong, by the derision of other men. But, however, I am not in pain; for it is the affectation of praise, that makes the fear of reproach; and I write without other design than of entertaining very idle men, and, among them, myself. For I must confess, that being wholly useless to the public, and unacquainted with the cares of increasing riches (which busy the world;) being grown cold to the pleasures of younger or livelier men; and having ended the entertainments of building and planting, (which used to succeed them;) finding little taste in common conversation, and trouble in much reading, from the care of my eyes since an illness contracted by many unnecessary diligences in my employments abroad: there can hardly be found an idler man than I, nor, consequently, one more excusable for giving way to such amusements as this: having nothing to do, but to enjoy the ease of a private life and fortune, which, as I know no man envies, so, I thank God, no man can reproach.

I am not ignorant, that the vein of reading ne-

Digitized by Google

ver ran lower than in this age; and seldom goes farther than the design of raising a stock to furnish some calling or conversation: the desire of knowledge being either laughed out of doors by the wit that pleases the age, or beaten out by interest that so much possesses it; and the amusement of books giving way to the liberties or refinements of pleasure that were formerly less known, or less avowed than now. Yet some there will always be found in the world, who ask no more at their idle hours, than to forget themselves; and whether that be brought about by drink or play, by love or business, or by some diversions as idle as this, it is all a case.

Besides, it may possibly fall out, at one time or other, that some Prince, or great Minister, may not be ill pleased in these kind of memorials (upon such a subject) to trace the steps of trade and riches, of order and power in a State, and those likewise of weak or violent counsels, of corrupt or ill conduct, of faction or obstinacy, which decay and dissolve the firmest governments; that so, by reflections upon foreign events, they may provide the better and the earlier against those at home, and raise their own honour and happiness by equal degrees with the prosperity and safety of the nations they govern.

For, under favour of those who would pass for wits in our age, by saying things which, David tells us, the fool said in his; and set up with bringing those wares to market, which, God knows, have been always in the world, though kept up in corners, because they used to mark their owners, in former ages, with the names of buffoons, profane or impudent men who deride all form and order, as well as piety and truth, and, under the notion of fopperies, endeavour to dissolve the very bonds of all civil society, though by the favour

Digitized by Google

and protection thereof they themselves enjoy so much greater proportions of wealth and of pleasures, than would fall to their share if all lay in common, as they seem to design (for then such possessions would belong of right to the strongest and bravest among us.)

Under favour of such men, I believe it will be found, at one time or other, by all who shall try, that, whilst human nature continues what it is, the same orders in State, the same discipline in armies, the same reverence for things sacred and respect of civil institutions, the same virtues and dispositions of Princes and Magistrates, derived, by interest or imitation, into the customs and humours of the people, will ever have the same effects upon the strength and greatness of all governments, and upon the honour and authority of those that rule, as well as the happiness and safety of those that obey.

Nor are we to think Princes themselves losers, or less entertained, when we see them employ their time and their thoughts in so useful speculations, and to so glorious ends: but that rather thereby they attain their true prerogative of being happier, as well as greater, than subjects can be. For all the pleasures of sense that any man can enjoy, are within the reach of a private fortune and ordinary contrivance; grow fainter with age, and duller with use; must be revived with intermissions, and wait upon the returns of appetite, which are no more at call of the rich than the poor. The flashes of wit and good humour that rise from the vapours of wine, are little different from those that proceed from the heats of blood in the first approaches of fevers or frenzies, and are to be valued, but as (indeed) they are, the effects of distemper. But the pleasures of imagination, as they heighten and refine the very pleasures of sense, so

Digitized by Google

they are of larger extent, and longer duration; and if the most sensual man will confess there is a pleasure in pleasing, he must likewise allow there is good to a man's self in doing good to others: and the further this extends, the higher it rises, and the longer it lasts. Besides, there is beauty in order, and there are charms in well-deserved praise: and both are the greater, by how much greater the subject; as the first appearing in a well-framed and well-governed State, and the other arising from noble and generous actions. Nor can any veins of good humour be greater than those that swell by the success of wise counsels, and by the fortunate events of public affairs; since a man that takes pleasure in doing good to ten thousand, must needs have more, than he that takes none but in doing good to himself.

But these thoughts lead me too far, and to little purpose; therefore I shall leave them for those I had first in my head, concerning the State of the United Provinces.

And whereas the greatness of their strength and revenues grew out of the vastness of their trade, into which their religion, their manners and dispositions, their situation and the form of their government, were the chief ingredients; and this last had been raised, partly upon an old foundation, and partly with materials brought together by many and various accidents: it will be necessary, for the survey of this great frame, to give some account of the rise and progress of their State, by pointing out the most remarkable occasions of the first, and periods of the other; to discover the nature and constitutions of their government in its several parts, and the motions of it, from the first and smallest wheels; to observe what is peculiar to them in their situation or dispositions, and what in their religion; to take a survey of their trade,

Digitized by Google

and the causes of it; of the forces and revenues which composed their greatness, and the circumstances and conjunctures which conspired to their fall. And these are the heads that shall make the order and arguments in the several parts of these Observations.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

OBSERVATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Rise and Progress of the United Provinces.

WHOEVER will take a view of the rise of this commonwealth, must trace it up as high as the first commotions in the Seventeen Provinces under the Duchess of Parma's government, and the true causes of that more avowed and general revolt in the Duke of Alva's time: and, to find out the natural springs of those revolutions, must reflect upon that sort of government under which the inhabitants of those provinces lived for so many ages past, in the subjection of their several Dukes or Counts, till, by marriages, successions, or conquest, they came to be united in the house of Burgundy, under Philip surnamed The Good: and afterwards in that of Austria, under Philip father of Charles the Fifth; and lastly, in the person of that great Emperor incorporated with those vast dominions of Germany and Spain, Italy and the Indies.

Nor will it be from the purpose, upon this search, to run a little higher into the antiquities of these countries; for though most men are contented only to see a river as it runs by them, and talk of the changes in it as they happen; when it is troubled, or when clear; when it drowns the country in a flood, or forsakes it in a drought: yet he that

Digitized by Google

would know the nature of the water, and the causes of those accidents (so as to guess at their continuance or return), must find out its source, and observe with what strength it rises, what length it runs, and how many small streams fall in, and feed it to such a height, as make it either delightful or terrible to the eye, and useful or dangerous to the country about it.

The numbers and fury of the Northern nations, under many different names, having by several inundations broken down the whole frame of the Roman empire (extended in their provinces as far as the Rhine), either gave a birth, or made way for the several kingdoms and principalities that have since continued in the parts of Europe on this side that river, which made the ancient limits of the Gallick and German nations. The tract of land, which we usually call the Low-Countries, was so wasted by the invasions or marches of this raging people (who passed by them to greater conquests), that the inhabitants grew thin; and, being secure of nothing they possessed, fell to seek the support of their lives, rather by hunting, or by violence, than by labour and industry; and thereby the grounds came to be uncultivated, and in the course of years turned either to forest, or marshes; which are the two natural soils of all desolated lands in the more temperate regions. For by soaking of frequent showers, and the course of waters from the higher into lower grounds, when there is no issue that helps them to break out into a channel, the flat land grows to be a mixture of earth and water, and neither of common use nor passage to man or beast, which is called a marsh. The higher, and so the drier parts, moistened by the rain, and warmed by the sun, shoot forth some sorts of plants, as naturally as bodies do some sorts of hair, which being preserved by the desolateness of a place un-

Digitized by Google

trodden, as well as untilled, grow to such trees or shrubs as are natural to the soil; and those in time, producing both food and shelter for several kind of beasts, make the sort of country we call a forest.

And such was Flanders for many years before Charlemaign's time, when the power of the Francs, having raised and established a great kingdom of their own, upon the entire conquest of Gaul, began to reduce the disorders of that country to the form of a civil, or(at least) military government; to make divisions and distributions of lands and jurisdictions, by the bounty of the Prince, or the services of his chief followers and commanders: to one of whom a great extent of this land was given, with the title of Forester of Flanders. This office continued for several descents, and began to civilize the country, by repressing the violence of robbers and spoilers, who infested the woody and fast places, and by encouraging the milder people to fall into civil societies, to trust to their industry for subsistence, to laws for protection, and to their arms united under the care and conduct of their governors, for safety and defence.

In the time of Charlemaign, as some write, or, as others, in that of Charles the Bald, Flanders was erected into a county, which changed the title of Forester for that of Count, without interrupting the succession.

What the extent of this county was at first, or how far the jurisdiction of Foresters reached, I cannot affirm; nor whether it only bordered upon, or included the lower parts of the vast woods of Ardenne, which, in Charlemaign's time, was all forest as high as Aix, and the rough country for some leagues beyond it, and was used commonly by that Emperor for his hunting: this appears by the ancient records of that city, which attribute

Digitized by Google

the discovery, or, at least, retrieving the knowledge of those hot baths, to the fortune of that Prince while he was hunting: for his horse, pocching one of his legs into some hollow ground, made way for the smoking water to break out, and gave occasion for the Emperor's building that city, and making it his usual seat, and the place of coronation for the following Emperors.

Holland, being an island made by the dividing branches of the ancient Rhine, and called formerly Batavia, was esteemed rather a part of Germany than Gaul (between which it was seated), in regard of its being planted by the Catti, a great and ancient people of Germany, and was treated by the Romans rather as an allied than subjected province; who drew from thence no other tribute besides bands of soldiers much esteemed for their valour, and joined as auxiliaries to their legions in their Gallick, German, and British wars.

It is probable, this island changed in a great measure inhabitants and customs, as well as names, upon the inroads of the barbarous nations, but chiefly of the Normans and Danes, from whose countries and language the names of Holland and Zealand seem to be derived. But, about the year 860, a son of the Count of Frize, by a daughter of the Emperor Lewis II, was by him instituted Count of Holland, and gave beginning to that title; which, running since that time through so many direct or collateral successions and some usurpations, came to an end at last in Philip II. King of Spain, by the defection of the United Provinces.

Under these first Foresters and Counts (who began to take those wasted countries and mixed people into their care, and to intend the growth, strength, and riches of their subjects, which they esteemed to be their own) many old and demolished castles were rebuilt, many new ones erected, and

Digitized by Google

given by the Princes to those of their subjects or friends whom they most loved or esteemed, with large circuits of lands for their support, and seigneurial jurisdiction over the inhabitants; and this upon several easy conditions, but chiefly of attendance on their Prince at the necessary times of either honouring him in peace, or serving him in war. Nay possibly, some of those seigneuries and their jurisdictions may, as they pretend, have been the remains of some old principalities in those countries among the Gallick and German nations, the first institutions whereof were lost in the immensity of time that preceded the Roman discoveries or conquest, and might be derived perhaps from the first paternal dominion, or concurrence of loose people into orderly neighbourhoods, with a deference, if not subjection, to the wisest or bravest among them.

Under the same Counts were either founded or restored many cities and towns; of which the old had their ancient freedoms and jurisdictions confirmed, or others annexed; and the new had either the same granted to them by example of the others, or great immunities and privileges for the encouragement of inhabitants to come and people in them: all these constitutions agreeing much in substance, perhaps by imitation, or else by the agreeing nature of the people for whom, or by whom, they were framed, but differing in form according to the difference of their original, or the several natures, customs, and interests of the Princes, whose concessions many of them were, and all their permissions.

Another constitution, which entered deep into their government, may be derived from another source. For those Northern nations, whose unknown language and countries perhaps made them be called Barbarous (though indeed almost all

Digitized by Google

nations out of Italy and Greece were styled so by the Romans), but whose victories in obtaining new seats, and orders in possessing them, might make us allow them for a better policied people, than they appeared by the vastness of their multitude, or the rage of their battles: wherever they passed, and seated their colonies and dominions, they left a constitution which has since been called, in most European languages, the States; consisting of three orders, Noble, Ecclesiastical, and Popular, under the limited principality of one person, with the style of King, Prince, Duke, or Count. The remainders, at least, or traces hereof, appear still in all the principalities founded by those people in Italy, France, and Spain; and were of a piece with the present constitutions in most of the great dominions on the other side of the Rhine: and it seems to have been a temper first introduced by them between the tyranny of the eastern kingdoms, and the liberty of the Grecian or Roman commonwealths.

It is true, the Goths were Gentiles when they first broke into the Roman empire, till one great swarm of this people, upon treaty with one of the Roman Emperors, and upon concessions of a great tract of land to be a seat for their nation, embraced at once the Christian faith. After which, the same people breaking out of the limits that had been allowed them, and by fresh numbers bearing all down where they bent their march; as they were a great means of propagating religion in many parts of Europe, where they extended their conquests; so the zeal of these new proselytes, warmed by the veneration they had for their Bishops and Pastors, and enriched by the spoils and possessions of so vast countries, seems to have been the first that introduced the maintenance of the churches and clergy, by endowments of lands, lordships, and vas-

Digitized by Google

sals, appropriated to them: for before this time the authority of the priesthood in all religions seemed wholly to consist in the people's opinion of their piety, learning, or virtues, or a reverence for their character and mystical ceremonies and institutions; their support, or their revenues, in the voluntary oblations of pious men, the bounty of Princes, or in a certain share out of the labours and gains of those who lived under their cure, and not in any subjection of men's lives or fortunes, which belonged wholly to the civil power: and Ammianus, though he taxes the luxury of the Bishops in Valentinian's time, yet he speaks of their riches, which occasioned or fomented it, as arising wholly from the oblations of the people. But the devotion of these new Christians introducing this new form of endowing their churches; and afterwards Pepin and Charlemaign, Kings of the Francs, upon their victories in Italy, and the favour of the Roman Bishop to their title and arms, having annexed great territories and jurisdictions to that see; this example, or custom, was followed by most Princes of the Northern races through the rest of Europe, and brought in to the clergy great possessions of lands, and by a necessary consequence a great share of temporal power, from the dependences of their subjects or tenants; by which means they came to be generally one of the three orders that composed the assembly of the States in every country.

This constitution of the States had been established from time immemorial in the several provinces of the Low-Countries, and was often assembled for determining disputes about succession of their Princes, where doubtful or contested; for deciding those between the great towns; for raising a milice for the defence of their countries in the wars of their neighbours; for advice in time of dangers abroad, or discontents at home: but always upon

Digitized by Google

the new succession of a Prince, and upon any new impositions that were necessary on the people. The use of this assembly was another of those liberties whereof the inhabitants of these provinces were so fond and so tenacious. The rest, besides those ancient privileges already mentioned of their towns, were concessions and graces of several Princes; in particular, exemptions or immunities, jurisdiction both in choice and exercise of magistracy and civil judicature within themselves; or else in the customs of using none but natives in charges and offices, and passing all weighty affairs by the great council composed of the great Lords of the country, who were in a manner all temporal, there being but three Bishops in all the Seventeen Provinces till the time of Philip II. of Spain.

The revenues of these Princes consisted in their ancient demesnes, in small customs, (which yet grew considerable by the greatness of trade in the maritime towns) and in the voluntary contributions of their subjects, either in the States or in particular cities, according to the necessities of their Prince, or the affections of the people. Now were these frequent; for the forces of these Counts were composed of such Lords, who, either by their governments, or other offices, or by the tenure of their lands, were obliged to attend their Prince on horseback, with certain numbers of men, upon all his wars: or else of a milice, which was called *Les gens d'ordonnance*, who served on foot, and were not unlike our trainbands; the use, or at least style, whereof was renewed in Flanders upon the last war with France in 1667, when the Count Egmont was made, by the Governor, General *des gens d'ordonnance*.

These forces were defrayed by the cities or countries, as the others were raised by the Lords when occasion required; and all were licensed immediately when it was past, so that they were of little

Digitized by Google

charge to the Prince. His wars were but with other Princes of his own size, or competitors to his principality; or sometimes with the mutinies of his great towns; short, though violent; and decided by one battle or siege; unless they fell into the quarrels between England and France, and then they were engaged but in the skirts of the war, the gross of it being waged between the two Kings, and these smaller Princes made use of for the credit of alliance, or sometimes the commodiousness of a diversion, rather than for any great weight they made in the main of the affair.

The most frequent wars of the Counts of Holland were with the Frizons, a part of the old Saxons; and the fiercest battles of some of the Counts of Flanders were with the Normans, who passed that way into France, and were the last of those nations that have infested the more southern parts of Europe. I have sometimes thought, how it should have come to pass, that the infinite swarm of that vast Northern hive, which so often shook the world like a great tempest, and overflowed it like a great torrent; changing names, and customs, and government, and language, and the very face of nature, wherever they seated themselves; which, upon record of story, under the name of Gauls, pierced into Greece and Italy, sacking Rome, and besieging the Capitol in Camillus's time; under that of the Cimbers, marched through France, to the very confines of Italy, defended by Marius; under that of Hunns or Lombards, Visigoths, Goths, and Vandals, conquered the whole forces of the Roman empire, sacked Rome thrice in a small compass of years, seated their kingdoms in Spain and Afric, as well as Lombardy; and, under that of Danes or Normans, possessed themselves of England, a great part of France, and even of Naples and Sicily: how (I say) these nations, which seem-

Digitized by Google

ed to spawn in every age, and at some intervals of time discharged their own native countries of so vast numbers, and with such terror to the world, should, about seven or eight hundred years ago, leave off the use of these furious expeditions, as if on a sudden they should have grown barren, or tame, or better contented with their own ill climates. But, I suppose, we owe this benefit wholly to the growth and progress of Christianity in the North, by which early and undistinguished copulation, or multitude of wives, were either restrained or abrogated; by the same means learning and civility got footing among them in some degree, and inclosed certain circuits of those vast regions, by the distinctions and bounds of kingdoms, principalities, or commonalties. Men began to leave their wilder lives, spent without other cares or pleasures, than of food, or of lust, and betook themselves to the ease and entertainment of societies: with order and labour, riches began, and trade followed; and these made way for luxury, and that for many diseases or ill habits of body, which, unknown to the former and simpler ages, began to shorten and weaken both life and procreation. Besides, the divisions and circles of dominion occasioned wars between the several nations, though of one faith; and those of the Poles, Hungarians, and Moscovites, with the Turks or Tartars, made greater slaughters: and by these accidents, I suppose, the numbers of those fertile broods have been lessened, and their limits in a measure confined; and we have had thereby, for so long together, in these parts of the world, the honour and liberty of drawing our own blood, upon the quarrels of humour or avarice, ambition or pride, without the assistance, or need, of any barbarous nations to destroy us.

But to end this digression, and return to the Low-Countries, where the government lasted, in the

Digitized by Google

form and manner described (though in several principalities) till Philip of Burgundy, in whom all the Seventeen Provinces came to be united.

By this great extent of a populous country, and the mighty growth of trade in Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp (attributed by Comines to the goodness of the Princes, and ease and safety of the people) both Philip, and his son Charles the Hardy, found themselves a match for France, then much weakened, as well by the late wars with England, as the factions of their Princes. And in the wars with France was the house of Burgundy, under Charles, and Maximilian of Austria (who married his daughter and heir) and afterwards under Charles V. their grand-child, almost constantly engaged; the course, successes, and revolutions whereof are commonly known.

Philip of Burgundy, who began them, was a good and wise Prince, loved by his subjects, and esteemed by his enemies; and took his measures so well, that, upon the declining of the English greatness abroad by their dissensions at home, he ended his quarrels in France, by a peace, with safety and honour: so that he took no pretence from his greatness, or his wars, to change any thing in the forms of his government: but Charles the Hardy, engaged more rashly against France and the Switzers, began to ask greater and frequent contributions of his subjects; which, gained at first by the credit of his father's government and his own great designs, but spent in an unfortunate war, made his people discontented, and him disesteemed, till he ended an unhappy life, by an untimely death, in the battle of Nancy.

In the time of Maximilian, several German troops were brought down into Flanders, for their defence against France; and in that of Charles V. much greater forces of Spaniards and Italians,

Digitized by Google

upon the same occasion; a thing unknown to the Low-Country-men in the time of their former Princes. But, through the whole course of this Emperor's reign, who was commonly on the fortunate hand, his greatness and fame, increasing together, either diverted or suppressed any discontents of his subjects upon the increase of their payments, or the grievance of so many foreign troops among them. Besides, Charles was of a gentle and a generous nature; and, being born in the Low-Countries, was naturally kind and easy to that people, whose customs and language he always used when he was among them, and employed all their great men in the charges of his court, his government, or his armies, through the several parts of his vast dominions; so that, upon the last great action of his life, which was the resignation of his crowns to his son and brother, he left to Philip II. the Seventeen Provinces in a condition as peaceable, and as loyal, as either Prince or subjects could desire.

Philip II. coming to the possession of so many and great dominions, about the year 1556, after some trial of good and ill fortune in the war with France (which was left him by his father, like an incumbrance upon a great estate) restored, by the peace of Cambray, not only the quiet of his own countries, but in a manner of all Christendom, which was in some degree or other engaged in the quarrel of these Princes. After this, he resolved to return into Spain, and leave the Low-Countries under a subordinate government, which had been till Charles V's time the constant seat of their Princes, and shared the presence of that great Emperor, with the rest of his dominions. But Philip, a Spaniard born, receiving from the climate or education of that country the severeness and gravity of the nation, which the Flemings called reservedness and pride; conferring the offices of his

Digitized by Google

house, and the honour of his council and confidence, upon Spaniards, and thereby introducing their customs, habits, and language into the Court of Flanders; continuing, after the peace, those Spanish and Italian forces, and the demand of supplies from the States, which the war had made necessary and the easier supported, he soon left off being loved, and began to be feared, by the inhabitants of those provinces.

But Philip II. thought it not agreeing with the pomp and greatness of the house of Austria, already at the head of so mighty dominions, nor with his designs of a yet greater empire, to consider the discontents or grievances of so small a country; nor to be limited by their ancient forms of government: and therefore, at his departure for Spain, and substitution of his natural sister the Duchess of Parma for Governess of the Low-Countries, assisted by the ministry of Granvell, he left her instructed to continue the foreign troops, and the demand of money from the States for their support, which was now by a long course of war grown customary among them, and the sums only disputed between the Prince and the States; to establish the fourteen Bishops, he had agreed with the Pope, should be added to the three that were anciently in the Low-Countries; to revive the edicts of Charles V. against Luther, published in a diet of the empire about the year 1550, but eluded in the Low-Countries even in that Emperor's time; and thereby to make way for the inquisition with the same course it had received in Spain, of which the Lutherans here, and the Moors there, were made an equal pretence. And these points, as they came to be owned and executed, made the first commotions of men's minds in the Provinces.

The hatred of the people against the Spaniards, and the insolences of those troops, with the charge

Digitized by Google

of their support, made them looked upon by the inhabitants in general, as the instruments of their oppression and slavery, and not of their defence, when a general peace had left them no enemies: and therefore the States began here their complaints, with a general consent and passion of all the nobles, as well as towns and country. And upon the delays that were contrived, or fell in, the States first refused to raise any more monies, either for the Spaniards pay, or their own standing troops; and the people ran into so great despair, that in Zealand they absolutely gave over the working at their digues, suffering the sea to gain every tide upon the country; and resolving (as they said) rather to be devoured by that element, than by the Spanish soldiers: so that, after many disputes and intrigues between the Governess and the Provinces, the King, upon her remonstrances, was induced to their removal; which was accordingly performed with great joy and applause of the people.

The erecting of fourteen new Bishops' sees raised the next contest. The great Lords looked upon this innovation as a lessening of their power, by introducing so many new men into the great council. The Abbots (out of whose lands they were to be endowed) pleaded against it, as a violent usurpation upon the rights of the Church, and the will of the dead, who had given those lands to a particular use. The commons murmured at it, as a new degree of oppression upon their conscience or liberty, by the erecting so many new spiritual courts of judicature, and so great a number of judges, being seventeen for three that were before in the country, and those depending absolutely upon the Pope, or the King. And all men declaimed against it, as a breach of the King's oath, at his accession to the government, for the preserving the Church and the laws in the same state

Digitized by Google

he found them. However, this point was gained entirely by the Governess, and carried over the head of all opposition, though not without leaving a general discontent.

In the midst of these ill humours stirring in Flanders, the wars of religion breaking out in France drove great numbers of Calvinists into all those parts of the Low-Countries that confine upon France, as the troubles of Germany had before of Lutherans into the provinces about the Rhine; and the persecutions under Queen Mary those of the Church of England into Flanders and Brabant, by the great commerce of this kingdom with Bruges and Antwerp.

These accidents and neighbourhoods filled these countries, in a small tract of time, with swarms of the reformed professors: and the admiration of their zeal, the opinion of their doctrine and piety, the compassion of their sufferings, the infusion of their discontents, or the humour of the age, gained them every day many proselytes in the Low-Countries, some among the nobles, many among the villages, but most among the cities, whose trade and riches were much increased by these new inhabitants; and whose interest thereby, as well as conversation, drew them on to their favour.

This made work for the inquisition, though moderately exercised by the prudence and temper of the Governess, mediating between the rigour of Granvell, in straining up to the highest his master's authority and the execution of his commands upon all occasions, and the resoluteness of the Lords of the Provinces to temper the King's edicts, and protect the liberties of their country against the admission of this new and arbitrary judicature, unknown to all ancient laws and customs of the country, and for that not less odious to the people, than for the cruelty of their executions. For, before the

Digitized by Google

inquisition, the care of religion was in the Bishops; and before that in the civil magistrates throughout the Provinces.

Upon angry debates in council, but chiefly upon the universal ministry of Granvell, a Burgundian of mean birth, grown at last to be a Cardinal, and more famous for the greatness of his parts, than the goodness of his life, the chief Lords of the country (among whom the Prince of Orange, Counts Egmont and Horne, the Marquis of Berghen and Montigny, were most considerable) grew to so violent and implacable an hatred of the Cardinal (whether from passion or interest) which was so universally spread through the whole body of the people, either by the causes of it, or the example, that the Lords first refused their attendance in council, protesting, not to endure the sight of a man so absolute there, and to the ruin of their country: and afterwards petitioned the King, in the name of the whole country, for his removal: upon the delay whereof, and the continuance of the inquisition, the people appeared, upon daily occasions and accidents, heated to that degree, as threatened a general combustion in the whole body whenever the least flame should break out in any part.

But the King at length consented to Granvell's recess, by the opinion of the Duchess of Parma, as well as the pursuit of the Provinces: whereupon the Lords reassumed their places in council; Count Egmont was sent into Spain to represent the grievances of the Provinces; and being favourably dispatched by the King, especially by remitting the rigour of the edicts about religion and the inquisition, all noise of discontent and tumult was appeased, the Lords were made use of by the Governess in the counsel and conduct of affairs, and the Governess was by the Lords both obeyed and honoured.

Digitized by Google

In the beginning of the year 1565, there was a conference at Bayonne between Catherine Queen-mother of France and her son Charles IX. (though very young) with his sister Isabella Queen of Spain: in which no other person but the Duke of Alva intervened, being deputed thither by Philip, who excused his own presence, and thereby made this interview pass for an effect or expression of kindness between the mother and her children. Whether great resolutions are the more suspected where great secresy is observed, or it be true, what the Prince of Orange affirmed to have by accident discovered, that the extirpation of all families, which should profess the new religion in the French or Spanish dominions, was here agreed on, with mutual assistance of the two crowns; it is certain, and was owned, that matters of religion were the subject of that conference; and that soon after, in the same year, came letters from King Philip to the Duchess of Parma, disclaiming the interpretation which had been given to his letters by Count Egmont, declaring, his pleasure was, that all heretics should be put to death without remission; that the Emperor's edicts, and the council of Trent, should be published and observed; and commanding, that the utmost assistance of the civil power should be given to the inquisition.

When this was divulged at first, the astonishment was great throughout their provinces; but that soon gave way to their rage, which began to appear in their looks, in their speeches, their bold meetings and libels; and was increased by the miserable spectacles of so many executions upon account of religion: the constancy of the sufferers and compassion of the beholders conspiring generally to lessen the opinion of guilt or crime, and heighten a detestation of the punishment, and desire of revenge against the authors of that counsel, of whom the Duke of Alva was esteemed the chief.

Digitized by Google

In the beginning of the year 1566, began an open mutiny of the citizens in many towns, hindering executions, and forcing prisons and officers; and this was followed by a confederacy of the Lords, never to suffer the inquisition in the Low-Countries, as contrary to all laws, both sacred and profane, and exceeding the cruelty of all former tyrannies; upon which, all resolutions of force or rigour grew unsafe for the government, now too weak for such a revolution of the people; and on the other side Brederode, in confidence of the general favour, came at the head of two hundred gentlemen, through the Provinces, to Brussels, and in bold terms petitioned the Governess for abolishing the inquisition and edicts about religion, and that new ones should be framed by a convention of the States.

The Governess was forced to use gentle remedies to so violent a disease; to receive the petition without show of the resentment she had at heart, and to promise a representation of their desires to the King; which was accordingly done: but though the King was startled with such consequences of his last commands, and at length induced to recall them; yet, whether by the slowness of his nature, or the forms of the Spanish Court, the answer came too late: and as all his former concessions, either by delay or testimonies of ill will or meaning in them, had lost the good grace, so this lost absolutely the effect, and came into the Low-Countries when all was in flame by an insurrection of the meaner people through many great towns of Flanders, Holland, and Utrecht, who fell violently upon the spoil of churches, and destruction of images, with a thousand circumstances of barbarous and brutish fury; which, with the institution of consistories and magistrates in each town among those of the reformed profession, with public confederacies and distinctions, and private contributions agreed upon for the support of their common cause, gave the

Digitized by Google

first date in this year of 1566 to the revolt of the Low-Countries.

But the nobility of the country, and the richest of the people in the cities, though unsatisfied with the government, yet feeling the effects, and abhorring the rage, of popular tumults, as the worst mischief that can befall any State; and encouraged by the arrival of the King's concessions, began to unite their counsels and forces with those of the Governess, and to employ themselves both with great vigour and loyalty for suppressing the late insurrections, that had seized upon many, and shaked most of the cities of the Provinces; in which the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont were great instruments, by the authority of their great charges (one being Governor of Holland and Zealand, and the other of Flanders) but more by the general love and confidence of the people; until by the reducing Valenciennes, Maestricht, and the Burse, by arms; the submission of Antwerp and other towns; the defection of Count Egmont from the counsels of the Confederate Lords (as they were called;) the retreat of the Prince of Orange into Germany; and the death of Brederode, with the news and preparations of King Philip's sudden journey into the Low-Countries, as well as the prudence and moderation of the Duchess in governing all these circumstances; the whole estate of the Provinces was perfectly restored to its former peace, obedience, and, at least, appearance of loyalty.

King Philip, whether having never really decreed his journey into Flanders, or diverted by the pacification of the Provinces, and apprehension of the Moors rebelling in Spain, or a distrust of his son Prince Charles's violent passions and dispositions, or the expectation of what had been resolved at Bayonne growing ripe for execution in France, gave over the discourse of seeing the Low-Countries; but

Digitized by Google

at the same time took up the resolution for dispatching the Duke of Alva thither at the head of an army of ten thousand veteran Spanish and Italian troops, for the assistance of the Governess, the execution of the laws, the suppressing and punishment of all who had been authors or fomenters of the late seditions.

This result was put suddenly in execution, though wholly against the advice of the Duchess of Parma in Flanders, and the Duke of Feria (one of the chief ministers) in Spain, who thought the present peace of the Provinces ought not to be invaded by new occasions; nor the royal authority lessened by being made a party in a war upon his subjects; nor a minister employed where he was so professedly both hating and hated, as the Duke of Alva in the Low-Countries.

But the King was unmoveable; so that, in the end of the year 1567, the Duke of Alva arrived there with an army of ten thousand, the best Spanish and Italian soldiers, under the command of the choicest officers, which the wars of Charles V. or Philip II. had bred up in Europe; which, with two thousand Germans the Duchess of Parma had raised in the last tumults, and, under the command of so old and renowned a General as the Duke of Alva, made up a force, which nothing in the Low-Countries could look in the face with other eyes, than of astonishment, submission, or despair.

Upon the first report of this expedition, the trading people of the towns and country began in vast numbers to retire out of the provinces; so, as the Duchess wrote to the King, that, in few days, above a hundred thousand men had left the country, and withdrawn both their money and goods, and more were following every day: so great antipathy there ever appears between merchants and soldiers; whilst one pretends to be safe under laws, which the other pretends shall be subject to his

Digitized by Google

sword and his will. And upon the first action of the Duke of Alva after his arrival, which was the seizing of the Counts Egmont and Horne, as well as the suspected death of the Marquis of Berghen, and imprisonment of Montigny in Spain (whither, some months before, they had been sent with commission and instructions from the Duchess) she immediately desired leave of the King to retire out of the Low-Countries.

This was easily obtained, and the Duke of Alva invested in the government, with powers never given before to any Governor: a council of twelve was erected for trial of all crimes committed against the King's authority, which was called by the people, The Council of Blood. Great numbers were condemned and executed by sentence of this council, upon account of the late insurrections; more by that of the inquisition, against the parting advice of the Duchess of Parma, and the exclamation of the people at those illegal courts. The town stomached the breach of their charters, the people of their liberties, the Knights of the Golden-Fleece the charters of their order, by these new and odious courts of judicature: all complain of the disuse of the States, of the introduction of armies, but all in vain: the King was constant to what he had determined; Alva was in his nature cruel and inexorable; the new army was fierce and brave, and desirous of nothing so much as a rebellion in the country; the people were enraged, but awed and unheaded: all was seizure and process, confiscation and imprisonment, blood and horror, insolence and dejection, punishments executed, and meditated revenge: the smaller branches were lopt off apace; the great ones were longer a hewing down. Counts Egmont and Horne lasted several months; but, at length, in spite of all their services to Charles V. and to Philip, as well as of their new

Digitized by Google

merits in the quieting of the Provinces, and of so great supplications and intercessions as were made in their favour, both in Spain and in Flanders, they were publicly beheaded at Brussels; which seemed to break all patience in the people, and, by their end, to give those commotions a beginning, which cost Europe so much blood, and Spain a great part of the Low-Country Provinces.

After the process of Egmont and Horne, the Prince of Orange, who was retired into Germany, was summoned to his trial for the same crimes, of which the others had been accused; and, upon his not appearing, was condemned, proclaimed traitor, and his whole estate (which was very great in the Provinces, and in Burgundy) seized upon, as forfeited to the King. The Prince, treated in this manner while he was quiet and unarmed in Germany, employs all his credit with those Princes engaged to him by alliance or by common fears of the house of Austria, throws off all obedience to the Duke of Alva, raises forces, joins with great numbers flocking to him out of the Provinces, all enraged at the Duke of Alva's cruel and arbitrary government, and resolved to revenge the Count Egmont's death (who had ever been the darling of the people). With these troops he enters Friezland, and invades the outward parts of Brabant, receives succours from the Protestants of France, then in arms under the Prince of Condé: and after many various encounters and successes, by the great conduct of Alva, and valour of his veteran army, being hindered from seizing upon any town in Brabant (which both of them knew would shake the fidelity of the Provinces) he is at length forced to break up his army, and to retire into Germany. Hereupon Alva returns in triumph to Brussels: and, as if he had made a conquest, instead of a defence, causes, out of the cannon taken from Lewis of Nassau, his statue to be cast in

Digitized by Google

brass, treading and insulting upon two smaller statues that represented the two estates of the Low-Countries; and this to be erected in the citadel he had built at Antwerp for the absolute subjecting of that rich, populous, and mutinous town.

Nothing had raised greater indignation among the Flemings, than the public sight and ostentation of this statue; and the more, because they knew the boast to be true, finding their ancient liberties and privileges (the inheritance of so many ages, or bounty of so many Princes) all now prostrate before this one man's sword and will, who from the time of Charles V. had ever been esteemed an enemy of their nation, and author of all the counsels for the absolute subduing their country.

But Alva, moved with no rumours, terrified with no threats from a broken and unarmed people, and thinking no measures nor forms were any more necessary to be observed in the Low-Countries, pretends greater sums are necessary for the pay and reward of his victorious troops, than were annually granted, upon the King's request, by the States of the provinces: and therefore demands a general tax of the hundredth part of every man's estate in the Low-Countries, to be raised at once: and, for the future, the twentieth of all immoveables, and the tenth of all that was sold.

The States with much reluctancy consent to the first, as a thing that ended at once; but refused the other two, alleging the poverty of the Provinces, and the ruin of trade. Upon the Duke's persisting, they petition the King by messengers into Spain, but without redress; draw out the year in contests, sometimes stomachful, sometimes humble, with the Governor; till the Duke, impatient of further delay, causes the edict, without consent of the States, to be published at Brussels. The people refuse to pay, the soldiers begin to levy by force, the townsmen all shut up their shops, the people in the country

Digitized by Google

forbear the market, so as not so much as bread or meat is to be bought in the town. The Duke is enraged, and calls the soldiers to arms, and commands several of the inhabitants, who refuse the payments, to be hanged that very night upon their sign-posts; which nothing moves the obstinacy of the people: and now the officers of the guards are ready to begin the executions, when news comes to town of the taking of the Briel by the Gueuses, and of the expectation that had been given of a sudden revolt in the Province of Holland.

This unexpected blow struck the Duke of Alva; and foreseeing the consequences of it, because he knew the stubble was dry, and now he found the fire was fallen in, he thought it an ill time to make an end of the tragedy in Brabant, whilst a new scene was opened in Holland; and so, giving over for the present his taxes and executions, applies his thoughts to the suppression of this new enemy, that broke in upon him from the sea; and, for that reason, the bottom and reach of the design, as well as the nature and strength of their forces, were to the Duke the less known, and the more suspected. Now, because this seizure of the Briel began the second great commotion of the Low-Countries in 1570, and that which indeed never ended, but in the loss of those Provinces, where the death of the Spanish and Royal government gave life to a new commonwealth, it will be necessary to know, what sort of men, and by what accidents united, and by what fears or hopes emboldened, were the first authors of this adventure.

Upon Brederode's delivering a petition to the Duchess of Parma against the inquisition, and for some liberty in point of religion, those persons, which attended him, looking mean in their cloaths and their garb, were called by one of the courtiers, at their entrance into the palace, *gueuses*, which signifies beggars; a name, though raised by chance,

Digitized by Google

or by scorn, yet affected by the party, as an expression of humility and distress, and used ever after by both sides as a name of distinction comprehending all who dissented from the Roman Church, how different soever in opinion among themselves.

These men, spread in great numbers through the whole extent of the Provinces by the accidents and dispositions already mentioned, after the appeasing of their first sedition were broken in their common counsels; and by the cruelty of the inquisition, and rigour of Alva, were in great multitudes forced to retire out of the Provinces, at least such as had means or hopes of subsisting abroad: many of the poorer and more desperate fled into the woods of the upper countries (where they are thick and wild) and lived upon spoil; and, in the first descent of the Prince of Orange's forces, did great mischief to all scattered parties of the Duke of Alva's troops in their march through those parts. But, after that attempt of the Prince ended without success, and he was forced back into Germany, the Count of Marcke, a violent and implacable enemy to the Duke of Alva and his government, with many others of the broken troops (whom the same fortune and disposition had left together in Friezland) manned out some ships of small force, and betook themselves to sea; and, with commissions from the Prince of Orange, began to prey upon all they could master, that belonged to the Spaniards. They sometimes sheltered and watered, and sold their prizes, in some creeks or small harbours of England, though forbidden by Queen Elizabeth (then in peace with Spain;) sometimes in the river Ems, or some small ports of Friezland; till at length, having gained considerable riches by these adventures, whether to sell, or to refresh, whether driven by storm, or led by design (upon knowledge of the

Digitized by Google

ill blood which the new taxes had bred in all the Provinces) they landed in the island of the Briel, assaulted and carried the town, pulled down the images in the churches, professed openly their religion, declared against the taxes and tyranny of the Spanish government, and were immediately followed by the revolt of most of the towns of Holland, Zealand, and West-Friezland, who threw out the Spanish garrisons, renounced their obedience to King Philip, and swore fidelity to the Prince of Orange.

The Prince returned out of Germany with new forces, and, making use of this fury of the people, contented not himself with Holland and Zealand, but marched up into the very heart of the Provinces, within five leagues of Brussels, seizing upon Mechlin, and many other towns, with so great consent, applause, and concourse of people, that the whole Spanish dominion seemed now ready to expire in the Low-Countries, if it had not been revived by the massacre of the Protestants at Paris; which, contrived by joint counsels with King Philip, and acted by a Spanish party in the Court of France, and with so fatal a blow to the contrary faction, encouraged the Duke of Alva, and damped the Prince of Orange in the same degree; so that one gathers strength enough to defend the heart of the Provinces, and the other retires into Holland, and makes that the seat of the war.

This country was strong by its nature and seat among the waters that encompass and divide it; but more by a rougher sort of people, at that time less softened by trade or by riches, less used to grants of money and taxes, and proud of their ancient fame, recorded in the Roman stories, of being obstinate defenders of their liberties, and now most implacable haters of the Spanish name.

All these dispositions were increased and hard-

Digitized by Google

ened in the war that ensued under the Duke of Alva's conduct, or his sons; by the slaughter of all innocent persons and sexes upon the taking of Naerden, where the houses were burnt, and the walls levelled to the ground; by the desperate defence of Haerlem for ten months, with all the practices and returns of ignominy, cruelty, and scorn on both sides, while the very women listed themselves in companies, repaired breaches, gave alarms, and beat up quarters, till, all being famished, four hundred burghers (after the surrender) were killed in cold blood, among many other examples of an incensed conqueror; which made the humour of the parties grow more desperate, and their hatred to Spain and Alva incurable.

The same army broken and forced to rise from before Alcmaer, after a long and fierce siege in Alva's time; and from before Leyden in the time of Requisenes (where the boors themselves opened the sluices, and drowned the country, resolving to mischief the Spaniards at the charge of their own ruin) gave the great turn to affairs in Holland.

The King grows sensible of danger, and apprehensive of the total defection of the Provinces; Alva weary of his government, finding his violent counsels and proceedings had raised a spirit, which was quiet before he came, and was never to be laid any more. The Duke is recalled, and the war goes on under Requisenes; who dying suddenly, and without provisions made by the King for a successor, the government, by customs of the country, devolved by way of interim upon the Great Council, which lasted some time, by the delay of Don John of Austria's coming, who was declared the new Governor.

But, in this interim, the strength of the disease appears; for, upon the mutiny of some Spanish troops for want of their pay, and their seizing Alost,

Digitized by Google

a town near Brussels, the people grow into a rage, the tradesmen give over their shops, and the country-men their labour, and all run to arms: in Brussels they force the Senate, pull out those men they knew to be most addicted to the Spaniards, kill such of that nation as they meet in the streets, and all in general cry out for the expulsion of foreigners out of the Low-Countries, and the assembling of the States; to which the Council is forced to consent. In the mean time, the chief persons of the Provinces enter into an agreement with the Prince of Orange, to carry on the common affairs of the Provinces by the same counsels; so as, when the Estates assembled at Ghent, without any contest they agreed upon that act, which was called *The pacification of Ghent*, in the year 1576, whereof the chief articles were, *The expulsion of all foreign soldiers out of the Provinces: restoring all the ancient forms of government: and referring matters of religion in each Province to the provincial Estates: and that, for performance thereof, the rest of the Provinces should for ever be confederate with Holland and Zealand.* And this made the first period of the Low-Country troubles, proving to King Philip a dear experience how little the best conduct, and boldest armies, are able to withstand the torrent of a stubborn and enraged people, which ever bears all down before it, till it comes to be divided into different channels by arts, or by chance; or, till the springs, which are the humours that fed it, come to be spent, or dry up of themselves.

The foreign forces, refusing to depart, are declared rebels; whereupon the Spanish troops force and plunder several towns, and Antwerp among the rest (by advantage of the citadel) with equal courage and avarice; and defend themselves in several holds from the forces of the States, till Don John's arrival at Luxemburgh, the only town of

Digitized by Google

the Provinces where he thought himself safe, as not involved in the defection of the rest.

The Estates refuse to admit him without his accepting and confirming the pacification of Ghent; which at length he does, by leave from the King, and enters upon the government with the dismission of all foreign troops, which return into Italy. But soon after, Don John, whether out of indignation to see himself but a precarious Governor, without force or dependence; or desiring new occasions of fame by a war; or instructed from Spain upon new counsels, takes the occasion of complimenting Queen Margaret of Navarre upon her journey out of France to the Spaw, and on a sudden seizes upon the castle of Namur. Whereupon the Provinces for the third time throw off their obedience, call the Prince of Orange to Brussels, where he is made Protector of Brabant by the States of that Province, and preparations are made on both sides for the war; while Spain is busy to form new armies, and draw them together in Namur and Luxemburgh, the only Provinces obedient to that crown; and all the rest agree to elect a Governor of their own, and send to Matthias the Emperor's brother, to offer him the charge.

At this time began to be formed the male-content party in the Low-Countries; which though agreeing with the rest in their hatred to the Spaniards, and defence of their liberties and laws, yet were not inclined to shake off allegiance to their Prince, nor change their old and established religion: and these were headed by the Duke of Areschot, and several great men, the more averse from a general defection, by emulation or envy of the Prince of Orange's greatness, who was now grown to have all the influence and credit in the counsels of the league.

By the assistance of this party, after Don John's

Digitized by Google

sudden death, the Duke of Parma, succeeding him, gained strength and reputation upon his coming to the government, and an entrance upon that great scene of glory and victory, which made both his person so renowned, and the time of his government signalized by so many sieges and battles, and the reduction of so great a part of the body of the Provinces to the subjection of Spain.

Upon the growth of this party, and for distinction from them, who, pursuing a middle and dangerous counsel, were at length to become an accession to one of the extremes; the more northern Provinces, meeting by their Deputies at Utrecht, in the year 1579, framed an act or alliance, which was ever after called the *Union of Utrecht;* and was the original constitution and frame of that commonwealth, which has since been so well known in the world by the name of the United Provinces.

This union was grounded upon the Spaniards breach of the pacification of Ghent, and new invasion of some towns in Guelderland; and was not pretended to divide these Provinces from the generality, nor from the said pacification; but to strengthen and pursue the ends of it, by more vigorous and united counsels and arms.

The chief force of this union consists in these points, drawn out of the instrument itself:

The Seven Provinces unite themselves so, as if they were but one Province, and so, as never to be divided by testament, donation, exchange, sale, or agreement: reserving to each particular Province and city all privileges, rights, customs, and statutes: in adjudging whereof, or differences that shall arise between any of the Provinces, the rest shall not intermeddle further, than to intercede towards an agreement.

They bind themselves to assist one another with life and fortunes against all force and assault made

Digitized by Google

upon any of them, whether upon pretence of royal majesty, of restoring Catholic religion, or any other whatsoever.

All frontier-towns belonging to the union, if old, to be fortified at the charge of the Province where they lie; if new, to be erected at the charge of the generality.

All imposts and customs, from three months to three months, to be offered to them that bid most; and, with the incomes of the royal majesty, to be employed for the common defence.

All inhabitants to be listed and trained within a month, from 18 to 60 years old. Peace and war not to be made without consent of all the Provinces: other cases, that concern the management of both, by most voices. Differences that shall arise upon the first, between the Provinces, to be submitted to the Stadtholders.

Neighbouring Princes, Lords, lands, and cities, to be admitted into the union, by consent of the Provinces.

For religion, those of Holland and Zealand to act in it as seems good unto themselves. The other Provinces may regulate themselves according to the tenor established by Matthias, or else as they shall judge to be most for the peace and welfare of their particular Provinces; provided every one remain free in his religion, and no man be examined or entrapped for that cause, according to the pacification of Ghent.

In case of any dissension or differences between Provinces, if it concern one in particular, it shall be accommodated by the others; if it concern all in general, by the Stadtholders: in both which cases, sentence to be pronounced within a month, and without appeal or revision.

The States to be held as has been formerly used;

Digitized by Google

and the mint in such manner as shall hereafter be agreed by all the Provinces.

Interpretation of these articles to remain in the States; but, in case of their differing, in the Stadtholders.

They bind themselves to fall upon and imprison any that shall act contrary to these articles; in which case no privilege nor exemption to be valid.

This act was signed by the Deputies of Guelderland, Zutphen, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and the Omlands of Frize, Jan. 23, 1579, but was not signed by the Prince of Orange till May following, and with this signification, judging that by the same the superiority and authority of Arch-Duke Matthias is not lessened.

In the same year, this union was entered and signed by the cities of Ghent, Nimmeguen, Arnhem, Leewarden, with some particular nobles of Friezland, Venlo, Ypres, Antwerp, Breda, and Bruges. And thus these Provinces became a commonwealth, but in so low and uncertain a state of affairs, by reason of the various motions and affections of men's minds, the different ends and interests of the several parties, especially in the other Provinces; and the mighty power and preparations of the Spanish monarchy to oppress them, that in their first coin they caused a ship to be stamped, labouring among the waves without sails or oars; and these words, *Incertum quo fata ferant.*

I thought so particular a deduction necessary to discover the natural causes of this revolution in the Low-Countries, which has since had so great a part, for near a hundred years, in all the actions and negotiations of Christendom; and to find out the true incentives of that obstinate love for their liberties, and invincible hatred for the Spanish nation and government, which laid the foundation of this com-

Digitized by Google

monwealth; and this last I take to have been the stronger passion, and of the greater effect, both in the bold counsels of contracting their union, and the desperate resolutions of defending it. For, not long after, the whole Council of this new State, being pressed by the extremities of their affairs, passing by the form of government in the way of a commonwealth, made an earnest and solemn offer of the dominion of these Provinces both to England and France; but were refused by both crowns: and, though they retained the name of a free people, yet they soon lost the ease of the liberties they contended for, by the absoluteness of their magistrates in the several cities and provinces, and the extreme pressure of their taxes, which so long a war, with so mighty an enemy, made necessary for the support of their State.

But the hatred of the Spanish government under Alva was so universal, that it made the revolt general through the Provinces, running through all religions, and all orders of men, as appeared by the pacification of Ghent; till, by the division of the parties, by the powers of so vast a monarchy as Spain at that time, and by the matchless conduct and valour of the Duke of Parma, this humour, like poison in a strong constitution, and with the help of violent physic, was expelled from the heart, which was Flanders and Brabant (with the rest of the ten Provinces) into the outward members; and, by their being cut off, the body was saved. After which, the most inflamed spirits being driven by the arms of Spain, or drawn by the hopes of liberty and safety, into the United Provinces out of the rest, the hatred of Spain grew to that height, that they were not only willing to submit to any new dominion, rather than return to the old; but when they could find no master to protect them, and their affairs grew desperate, they

Digitized by Google

were once certainly upon the counsel of burning their great towns, wasting and drowning what they could of their own country, and going to seek some new seats in the Indies. Which they might have executed, if they had found shipping enough to carry off all their numbers, and had not been detained by the compassion of those which must have been left behind at the mercy of an incensed and conquering master.

The Spanish and Italians writers content themselves to attribute the causes of these revolutions to the change of religion, to the native stubbornness of the people, and to the ambition of the Princes of Orange: but religion, without mixtures of ambition and interest, works no such violent effects, and produces rather the examples of constant sufferings, than of desperate actions. The nature of the people cannot change of a sudden, no more than the climate which infuses it; and no country hath brought forth better subjects, than many of these Provinces, both before and since these commotions among them; and the ambition of one man could neither have designed nor atchieved so great an adventure, had it not been seconded with universal discontent; nor could that have been raised to so great an height and heat, without so many circumstances as fell in from an unhappy course of the Spanish counsels to kindle and foment it. For though it had been hard to head such a body, and give it so strong a principle of life, and so regular motions, without the accident of so great a Governor in the Provinces, as Prince William of Orange, a man of equal abilities in counsel and in arms; cautious and resolute, affable and severe, supple to occasions and yet constant to his ends; of mighty revenues and dependence in the Provinces, of great credit and alliance in Germany; esteemed and honoured abroad, but at

Digitized by Google

home infinitely loved and trusted by the people, who thought him affectionate to their country, sincere in his professions and designs, able and willing to defend their liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any ambition of his own: yet all these qualities might very well have been confined to the duty and services of a subject, as they were in Charles V's time, without the absence of the King, and the people's opinion of his ill-will to their nation and their laws; without the continuance of foreign troops after the wars were ended, the erecting of the new Bishops sees, and introducing the inquisition; the sole ministry of Grandvell, and exclusion of the Lords from their usual part in counsels and affairs; the government of a man so hated, as the Duke of Alva; the rigour of his prosecutions, and the insolence of his statue; and, lastly, without the death of Egmont, and the imposition of the tenth and twentieth part, against the legal forms of government in a country where a long derived succession had made the people fond and tenacious of their ancient customs and laws.

These were the seeds of their hatred to Spain; which, increasing by the course of about threescore years war, was not allayed by a long succeeding peace; but will appear to have been an ingredient into the fall, as it was into the rise, of this State; which, having been thus planted, came to be conserved and cultivated by many accidents and influences from abroad; but, those having had no part in the constitution of their State, nor the frame of their government, I will content myself to mention only the chief of them, which most contributed to preserve the infancy of this commonwealth, and make way for its growth; the causes of its succeeding greatness and riches being not to be sought for in the events of their wars,

Digitized by Google

but in the institutions and orders of their government, their customs, and trade, which will make the arguments of the ensuing chapters.

When Don John threw off the conditions he had at first accepted of the pacification of Ghent, and by the surprise of Namur broke into arms, the Estates of the Provinces offered the government of their country to Matthias, brother to the Emperor, as a temper between their return to the obedience of Spain, and the popular government which was moulding in the northern Provinces. But Matthias, arriving without the advice or support of the Emperor, or credit in the Provinces, and having the Prince of Orange given him for his Lieutenant-General, was only a cypher, and his government a piece of pageantry, which passed without effect, and was soon ended: so that, upon the Duke of Parma's taking on him the government, some new protection was necessary to this infant State, that had not legs to support it against such a storm as was threatened upon the return of the Spanish and Italian forces to make the body of a formidable army which the Duke of Parma was forming in Namur and Luxemburgh.

Since the conference of Bayonne, between the Queen-mother of France and her daughter Queen of Spain, those two crowns had continued, in the reign of Francis and Charles, to assist one another in the common design there agreed on, of prosecuting with violence those they called the Heretics, in both their dominions. The peace held constant, if not kind, between England and Spain; so as King Philip had no wars upon his hands in Christendom during these commotions in the Low-Countries; and the boldness of the confederates, in their first revolt and union, seemed greater at such a time than the success of their resistances

Digitized by Google

afterwards, when so many occasions fell in to weaken and divert the forces of the Spanish monarchy.

For Henry III. coming to the crown of France, and at first only fettered and controuled by the faction of the Guises, but afterwards engaged in an open war (which they had raised against him, upon pretext of preserving the Catholic religion, and in a conjunction of counsels with Spain) was forced into better measures with the Hugonots of his kingdom, and fell into ill intelligence with Philip II. so as, Queen Elizabeth having declined to undertake openly the protection of the Low-Country Provinces, it was, by the concurring resolution of the States, and the consent of the French Court, devolved upon the Duke of Alençon, brother to Henry III.

But this Prince entered Antwerp with an ill presage to the Flemings, by an attempt which a Biscainer made the same day upon the Prince of Orange's life, shooting him, though not mortally, in the head: and he continued his short government with such mutual distastes between the French and the Flemings (the heat and violence of one nation agreeing ill with the customs and liberties of the other) that the Duke, attempting to make himself absolute master of the city of Antwerp by force, was driven out of the town, and thereupon retired out of the country with extreme resentment of the Flemings, and indignation of the French; so as, the Prince of Orange being not long after assassinated at Delph, and the Duke of Parma increasing daily in reputation and in force, and the male-content party falling back apace to his obedience, an end was presaged by most men to the affairs of the confederates.

But the root was deeper and not so easily shaken: for the United Provinces, after the unhappy trans-

Digitized by Google

actions with the French under the Duke of Alençon, re-assumed their union in 1583, binding themselves, in case by fury of the war any point of it had not been observed, to endeavour from that time to see it effected: in case any doubt had happened, to see it cleared: and any difficulties, composed: and, in regard the article concerning religion had been so framed in the union, because in all the other Provinces, besides Holland and Zealand, the Romish religion was then used, but now the Evangelical, it was agreed by all the Provinces of the union, that, from this time, in them all, the Evangelical reformed religion should alone be openly preached and exercised.

They were so far from being broken in their designs by the Prince of Orange's death, that they did all the honour that could be to his memory, substituted Prince Maurice, his son, though but sixteen years old, in all his honours and commands, and obstinately refused all overtures that were made them of peace, resolving upon all the most desperate actions and sufferings, rather than return under the Spanish obedience.

But these spirits were fed and heightened, in a great degree, by the hopes and countenance given them about this time from England: for Queen Elizabeth and Philip II, though they still preserved the name of peace, yet had worn out, in a manner, the effects as well as the dispositions of it, whilst the Spaniards fomented and assisted the insurrections of the Irish, and Queen Elizabeth the new commonwealth in the Low-Countries; though neither directly, yet by countenance, money, voluntary troops, and ways that were equally felt on both sides, and equally understood.

King Philip had lately increased the greatness of his empire by the inheritance or invasion of the kingdom of Portugal, upon King Sebastian's loss

Digitized by Google

in Africa: but I know not whether he had increased his power by the accession of a kingdom with a disputed title and a discontented people, who could neither be used like good subjects, and governed without armies, nor like a conquered nation, and so made to bear the charge of their forced obedience. But this addition of empire, with the vast treasure flowing every year out of the Indies, had without question raised King Philip's ambition to vaster designs; which made him embrace, at once, the protection of the League in France against Henry III. and IV. and the donation made him of Ireland by the Pope, and so embark himself in a war with both those crowns, while he was bearded with the open arms and defiance of his own subjects in the Low-Countries.

But it is hard to be imagined, how far the spirit of one great man goes in the fortunes of any army or state. The Duke of Parma coming to the government without any footing in more than two of the smallest Provinces, collecting an army from Spain, Italy, Germany, and the broken troops of the country left him by Don John, having all the other Provinces confederated against him, and both England and France beginning to take open part in their defence; yet, by force of his own valour, conduct, and the discipline of his army, with the disinterested and generous qualities of his mind, winning equally upon the hearts and arms of the revolted countries, and piercing through the Provinces with an uninterrupted course of successes, and the recovery of the most important towns in Flanders; at last, by the taking of Antwerp and Groninguen, reduced the affairs of the union to so extreme distress, that, being grown destitute of all hopes and succours from France (then deep engaged in their own civil wars) they threw themselves wholly at the feet of Queen Elizabeth, im-

Digitized by Google

ploring her protection, and offering her the sovereignty of their country. The Queen refused the dominion, but entered into articles with their Deputies in 1585, obliging herself to very great supplies of men and of moneys, lent them upon the security of the Briel, Flushing, and Ramekins; which were performed, and Sir John Norris sent over to command her forces; and afterwards in 87, upon the war broken out with Spain, and the mighty threats of the Spanish armada, she sent over yet greater forces under the Earl of Leicester, whom the States admitted, and swore obedience to him as Governor of their United Provinces.

But this government lasted not long, distastes and suspicions soon breaking out between Leicester and the States; partly from the jealousy of his affecting an absolute dominion and arbitrary disposal of all offices, but chiefly of the Queen's intentions to make a peace with Spain; and the easy loss of some of their towns by Governors placed in them by the Earl of Leicester, increased their discontents. Notwithstanding this ill intercourse, the Queen re-assures them in both those points, disapproves some of Leicester's proceedings, receives frank and hearty assistances from them in her naval preparations against the Spaniards; and at length, upon the disorders increasing between the Earl of Leicester and the States, commands him to resign his government, and release the States of the oath they had taken to obey him. And, after all this had past, the Queen, easily sacrificing all particular resentments to the interest of her crown, continued her favour, protection, and assistances to the States, during the whole course of her reign, which were returned with the greatest deference and veneration to her person, that was ever paid by them to any foreign Prince, and continues still to her name in the re-

Digitized by Google

membrance, and frequently in the mouths, of all sorts of people among them.

After Leicester's departure, Prince Maurice was, by the consent of the union, chosen their Governor, but with a reservation to Queen Elizabeth; and entered that command with the hopes which he made good in the execution of it for many years; proving the greatest Captain of his age, famous, particularly, in the discipline and ordonnance of his armies, and the ways of fortification by him first invented or perfected, and since his time imitated by all.

But the great breath, that was given the States in the heat of their affairs, was by the sharp wars made by Queen Elizabeth upon the Spaniards at sea in the Indies, and the expeditions of Lisbon and Cadiz, and by the declining affairs of the League in France, for whose support Philip II. was so passionately engaged, that twice he commanded the Duke of Parma to interrupt the course of his victories in the Low-Countries, and march into France for the relief of Roan and Paris; which much augmented the renown of this great Captain, but as much impaired the state of the Spanish affairs in Flanders. For, in the Duke of Parma's absence, Prince Maurice took in all the places held by the Spaniards on the other side the Rhine which gave them entrance into the United Provinces.

The succession of Henry IV. to the crown of France gave a mighty blow to the designs of King Philip; and a much greater, the general obedience and acknowledgment of him upon his change of religion. With this King the States began to enter a confidence and kindness, and the more by that which interceded between him and the Queen of England, who had all their dependence during her life. But, after her death, King

Digitized by Google

Henry grew to have greater credit than ever in the United Provinces: though upon the decay of the Spanish power, under the ascendant of this King, the States fell into very early jealousies of his growing too great, and too near them in Flanders.

With the Duke of Parma died all the discipline, and with that all the fortunes, of the Spanish arms in Flanders: the frequent mutinies of their soldiers, dangerous in effect and in example, were more talked of than any other of their actions, in the short government of Mansfield, Ernest, and Fuentes, till the old discipline of their armies began to revive, and their fortune a little to respire, under the new government of Cardinal Albert, who came into Flanders both Governor and Prince of the Low-Countries, at the head of a mighty army drawn out of Germany and Italy, to try the last effort of the Spanish power, either in a prosperous war, or, at least, in making way for a necessary peace.

But the choice of the Arch-Duke, and this new authority, had a deeper root and design, than at first appeared: for that mighty King Philip II, born to so vast possessions, and to so much vaster desires, after a long dream of raising his head into the clouds, found it now ready to lie down in the dust: his body broken with age and infirmities, his mind with cares and distempered thoughts and the royal servitude of a solicitous life, he began to see, in the glass of time and experience, the true shapes of all human greatness and designs; and finding to what airy figures he had hitherto sacrificed his health, and ease, and the good of his life, he now turned his thoughts wholly to rest and quiet, which he had never yet allowed either the world, or himself: his designs upon England, and his invincible armada, had ended in smoke: those upon France, in events the most contrary to what he had pro-

Digitized by Google

posed: and instead of mastering the liberties, and breaking the stomach, of his Low-Country subjects, he had lost seven of his Provinces, and held the rest by the tenure of a war that cost him more than they were worth. He had made lately a peace with England, and desired it with France; and, though he scorned it with his revolted subjects in his own name, yet he wished it in another's; and was unwilling to entail a quarrel upon his son, which had crossed his fortunes and busied his thoughts all the course of his reign. He therefore resolved to commit these two designs to the management of Arch-Duke Albert, with the style of Governor and Prince of the Low-Countries; to the end, that, if he could reduce the Provinces to their old subjection, he should govern them as Spanish dominions; if that was once more in vain attempted, he should by a marriage with Clara Isabella Eugenia (King Philip's beloved daughter) receive these Provinces as a dowry, and become the Prince of them, with a condition only of their returning to Spain in case of Isabella's dying without issue. King Philip believed, that the presence of a natural Prince among his subjects; that the birth and customs of Arch-Duke Albert, being a German; the generous and obliging dispositions of Isabella, might gain further upon this stubborn people, than all the force and rigour of his former counsels; and, at the worst, that they might make a peace, if they could not a war, and without interesting the honour and greatness of the Spanish crown.

In pursuit of this determination, like a wise King, while he intended nothing but peace, he made preparations as if he designed nothing but war; knowing, that his own desires of peace would signify nothing, unless he could force his enemies to desire it too. He therefore sent the Arch-Duke into Flanders, at the head of such an army, that,

Digitized by Google

believing the peace with France must be the first in order, and make way for either the war or peace afterwards in the Low-Countries, he marched into France, and took Amiens the chief city of Picardy, and thereby gave such an alarm to the French Court, as they little expected, and had never received in the former wars. But while Albert bent the whole force of the war upon France, till he determined it in a peace with that crown, Prince Maurice, who had taken Groninguen in the time of Ernest, now mastered Linghen, Groll, and other places in Overyssel, thereby adding those Provinces entire to the body of the union; and, at Albert's return into Flanders, entertained him with the battle of Newport, won by the desperate courage of the English under Sir Francis Vere, where Albert was wounded, and very near being taken.

After this loss, the Arch-Duke was yet comforted and relieved by the obsequious affections and obedience of his new subjects, so far as to resolve upon the siege of Ostend; which having some time continued, and being almost disheartened by the strength of the place, and invincible courage of the defendants, he was recruited by a body of eight thousand Italians, under the Marquis Spinola, to whom the prosecution of this siege was committed: he took the place after three years siege, not by any want of men or provisions within (the haven, and relief by sea, being open all the time) but perfectly for want of ground, which was gained foot by foot, till not so much was left, as would hold men to defend it: a great example, how impossible it is to defend any town, that cannot be relieved by an army strong enough to raise the siege.

Prince Maurice, though he could not save Ostend, made yet amends for its loss, by the taking of Grave and Sluyce; so as the Spaniards gained little but the honour of the enterprise: and Philip

Digitized by Google

II. being dead, about the time of the Arch-Duke and Dutchess's arrival in Flanders, and, with him, the personal resentment of that war, the Arch-Duke, by consent of the Spanish Court, began to apply his thoughts wholly to a peace; which another circumstance had made more necessary, than any of those already mentioned.

As the Dutch commonwealth was born out of the sea, so out of the same element it drew its first strength and consideration, as well as afterwards its riches and greatness: for, before the revolt, the subjects of the Low-Countries, though never allowed the trade of the Indies but in the Spanish fleets and under Spanish covert, yet many of them had in that manner made the voyages, and become skilful pilots, as well as versed in the ways, and sensible of the infinite gains, of that trade. And after the union, a greater confluence of people falling down into the United Provinces, than could manage their stock, or find employment at land, great multitudes turned their endeavours to sea; and, having lost the trade of Spain and the Straits, fell not only into that of England, France, and the northern seas, but ventured upon that of the East-Indies, at first with small forces and success; but in course of time, and by the Institution of an East-India company, this came to be pursued with so general application of the Provinces, and so great advantage, that they made themselves masters of most of the colonies and forts planted there by the Portuguese (now subjects of Spain). The Dutch seamen grew as well acquainted with those vast seas and coasts as with their own; and Holland became the great magazine of all the commodities of those eastern regions.

In the West-Indies their attempts were neither so frequent nor prosperous, the Spanish plantations there being too numerous and strong; but by the

Digitized by Google

multitude of their shipping, set out with public or private commissions, they infested the seas, and began to wait for, and threaten, the Spanish Indian fleets, and sometimes to attempt their coasts in that new world (which was to touch Spain in the most sensible part) and gave their Court the strongest motives to endeavour a peace, that might secure those treasures in their way, and preserve them in Spain, by stopping the issue of those vast sums, which were continually transmitted to maintain the Low-Country wars.

These respects gave the first rise to a treaty of peace, the proposal whereof came wholly from the Spaniards; and the very mention of it could hardly at first be fastened upon the States; nor could they ever be prevailed with to make way for any negotiation by a suspension of arms, till the Arch-Duke had declared, he would treat with them as with free Provinces, upon whom, neither he, nor Spain, had any pretence. However, the affair was pursued with so much art and industry on the Arch-Duke's part, and with so passionate desires of the Spanish Court to end this war, that they were content to treat it at the Hague, the seat of the States-General; and, for the greater honour, and better conduct of the whole business, appointed the four chief ministers of the Arch-Duke's their commissioners to attend and pursue it there; who were, their Camp-Master-General Spinola, the President of the Council, and the two Secretaries of State and of War in Flanders.

On the other side, in Holland all the paces towards this treaty were made with great coldness and arrogance, raising punctilious difficulties upon every word of the Arch-Duke's declaration of treating them as free Provinces, and upon Spain's ratification of that form; and forcing them to send expresses into Spain, upon every occasion, and

Digitized by Google

to attend the length of those returns. For the prosperous success of their arms at land, in the course of above thirty years war, and the mighty growth of their naval power, and (under that protection) of their trade, had made the whole body of their militia, both at land and sea, averse from this treaty, as well as the greatest part of the people; whose inveterate hatred against Spain was still as fierce as ever; and who had the hopes or dispositions of raising their fortunes by the war, whereof they had so many and great examples among them.

But there was, at the bottom, one foreign, and another domestic consideration, which made way for this treaty, more than all those arguments that were the common themes, or than all the offices of the neighbour Princes, who concerned themselves in this affair, either from interest of their own, or the desires of ending a war, which had so long exercised, in a manner, the arms of all Christendom upon the stage of the Low-Countries. The greatness of the Spanish monarchy, so formidable under Charles V. and Philip II, began now to decline by the vast designs, and unfortunate events, of so many ambitious counsels: and, on the other side, the affairs of Henry IV. of France were now at the greatest height and felicity, after having atchieved so many adventures, with incredible constancy and valour, and ended all his wars in a peace with Spain. The Dutch imagined, that the hot spirits of the French could not continue long without some exercise; and that, to prevent it at home, it might be necessary for that King to give it them abroad: that no enterprise lay so convenient for him, as that upon Flanders, which had anciently been part of the Gallic nation, and whose first Princes derived and held of the Kings of France. Besides, they had intimations, that Henry IV.

Digitized by Google

was taken up in great preparations of war, which they doubted would at one time or other fall on that side, at least if they were invited by any greater decays of the Spanish power in Flanders: and they knew very well, they should lie as much at the mercy of such a neighbour as France, as they had formerly done of such a master as Spain. For the Spanish power in Flanders, was fed by treasures that came by long and perilous voyages out of Spain; by troops drawn either from thence or from Italy or Germany, with much casualty, and more expence: their territory of the ten Provinces was small and awed by the neighbourhood and jealousies both of England and France. But, if France was once master of Flanders, the body of that empire would be so great, and so entire; so abounding in people, and in riches; that whenever they found, or made, an occasion of invading the United Provinces, they had no hopes of preserving themselves by an opposition or diversion: and the end of their mighty resistances against Spain was, to have no master; and not to change one for another, as they should do in this case: therefore the most intelligent among their civil ministers thought it safest, by a peace, to give breath to the Arch-Duke's and Spanish power, and, by that means, to lessen the invitation of the arms of France into Flanders, under so great a King.

For what was domestic: the credit and power of Prince Maurice, built at first upon that of his father, but much raised upon his own personal virtues and qualities, and the success of his arms, was now grown so high (the Prince being Governor or Stadtholder of four of the Provinces, and two of his cousins of the other three) that several of the States, headed by Barnevelt, Pensioner of Holland, and a man of great abilities and authority among them, became jealous of the Prince's power,

Digitized by Google

and pretended to fear the growth of it to an absolute dominion: they knew, it would increase by the continuance of a war which was wholly managed by the Prince; and thought that in a peace it would diminish and give way to the authority of civil power: which disposed this whole party to desire the treaty, and to advance the progress and issue of it by all their assistances. And these different humours stirring in the heart of the States with almost equal strength and vigour, the negotiation of a peace came to be ended, after long debates and infinite endeavours; breaking, in appearance, upon the points of religion and the Indian trade; but yet came to knit again, and conclude in a truce of twelve years, dated in the year 1609, whereof the most essential points were, the declaration of treating with them as free Provinces; the cessation of all acts of hostility on both sides during the truce; the enjoyment, for that space, of all that each party possessed at the time of the treaty; that no new fortification should be raised on either side; and that free commerce should be restored on all parts in the same manner as it was before the wars.

And thus the State of the United Provinces came to be acknowledged as a free commonwealth by their ancient master, having before been treated so by most of the Kings and Princes of Europe, in frequent embassies and negotiations. Among which, a particular preference was given to the English crown, whose Ambassador had session and vote in their Council of State, by agreement with Queen Elizabeth, and in acknowledgment of those great assistances which gave life to their State when it was upon the point of expiring: though the Dutch pretend, that privilege was given to the Ambassador, by virtue of the possession this crown had of the Briel, Flushing, and Rame-

Digitized by Google

kins; and that it was to cease upon the restitution of those towns, and repayment of those sums lent by the Queen.

In the very time of treating this truce, a league was concluded between Henry IV. of France and the States, for preserving the peace, if it came to be concluded; or, in case of its failing, for assistance of one another with ten thousand men on the King's part, and five thousand on the States. Nor did that King make any difficulty of continuing the two regiments of foot and two hundred horse in the States service, at his own charge, after the truce, which he had maintained for several years before it: omitting no provisions that might tie that State to his interest, and make him at present arbiter of the peace, and for the future of the war, if the truce should come to be broken, or to expire of itself.

By what has been related it will easily appear that no State was ever born with stronger throws, or nursed up with harder fare, or inured to greater labours or dangers in the whole course of its youth; which are circumstances that usually make strong and healthy bodies: and so this has proved, having never had more than one disease break out, in the space of ninety-three years, which may be accounted the age of this State, reckoning from the union of Utrecht, entered by the Provinces in 1579. But this disease, like those of the seed or conception in a natural body, though it first appeared in Barnevelt's time, breaking out upon the negotiations with Spain, and seemed to end with his death (who was beheaded not many years after) yet has it ever since continued lurking in the veins of this State, and appearing upon all revolutions that seemed to favour the predominancy of the one or other humour in the body; and, under the names of the Prince of Orange's and the Arminian

Digitized by Google

party, has ever made the weak side of this State; and, whenever their period comes, will prove the occasion of their fall.

The ground of this name of *Arminian* was, that whilst Barnevelt's party accused those of the Prince of Orange's, as being careless of their liberties, so dearly bought; as devoted to the house of Orange; and disposed to the admission of an absolute principality, and, in order thereunto, as promoters of a perpetual war with Spain; so those of the Prince's party accused the others, as leaning still, and looking kindly upon, their old servitude, and relishing the Spaniard, both in their politics, by so eagerly affecting a peace with that crown; and in their religion, by being generally Arminians (which was esteemed the middle part between the Calvinists and the Roman religion.) And, besides these mutual reproaches, the two parties have ever valued themselves upon the asserting, one of the true and purer reformed religion; and the other, of the true and freer liberties of the State.

The fortunes of this commonwealth, that have happened in their wars or negotiations, since the truce with Spain, and what circumstances or accidents, both abroad and at home, served to cultivate their mighty growth, and conspired to the greatness wherein they appeared to the world in the beginning of the year 1665, being not only the subject of the relations, but even the observations, of this present age; I shall either leave, as more obvious and less necessary, to the account I intend of the civil government of this commonwealth; or else reserve them till the same vein of leisure or humour invite me to continue this deduction to the present time; the affairs of this State having been complicated with all the variety and memorable revolutions, both of actions and counsels, that have since happened in the rest of Christendom.

Digitized by Google

In the mean time I will close this relation with an event, which arrived soon after the conclusion of the truce, and had like to have broken it within the very year, if not prevented by the offices of the neighbouring Princes, but more by a change of humour in the United States, conspiring to the conservation of the new-restored peace in these parts of the world.

In the end of the year 1609, died the Duke of Cleves and Juliers, without heir-male, leaving those dutchies to the pretensions of his daughters, in whose right the Dukes of Brandenburgh and Nieuburgh possessed themselves of such parts of those territories as they first could invade, each of them pretending right to the whole inheritance. Brandenburgh seeks protection and favour to his title from the United Provinces. Nieuburgh from Arch-Duke Albert, and from Spain. The Arch-Duke, newly respiring from so long a war, had no desire to interest himself in this quarrel, further than the care, that the Dutch should not take advantage of it, and, under pretext of assisting one of the parties, seize upon some of those dominions lying contiguous to their own. The Dutch were not so equal, nor content to lose so fair an occasion, and surprised the town of Juliers (though pretending only to keep it till the parties agreed;) and believing that Spain, after having parted with so much in the late truce, to end a quarrel of their own, would not venture the breach of it upon a quarrel of their neighbours. But the Arch-Duke, having first taken his measures with Spain, and foreseeing the consequence of this affair, resolved to venture the whole State of Flanders in a new war, rather than suffer such an increase of power and dominion to the States. And thereupon, first, in the behalf of the Duke of Nieuburgh, requires from them the restitution of Juliers; and, upon

Digitized by Google

their artificious and dilatory answers, immediately draws his forces together, and with an army, under the command of Spinola, marches towards Juliers (which the States were in no care of, as well provided for a bold defence) but makes a sudden turn, and sits down before Wesel, with such a terror and surprise to the inhabitants, that he carries the town before the Dutch could come in to their assistance. Wesel was a strong town upon the Rhine, which the Duke of Brandenburgh pretended to, as belonging to the dutchy of Cleve; but the citizens held it at this time as an imperial town, and under protection of the Dutch: who, amazed at this sudden and bold attempt of Spinola, which made him master of a pass that lay fair for any further invasion upon their Provinces (especially those on t'other side the Rhine) engage the offices of both the English and French crowns to mediate an agreement, which at length they conclude, so as neither party should, upon any pretence, draw their forces into any part of these dutchies. Thus the Arch-Duke, having by the fondness of peace newly made a truce upon conditions imposed by the Dutch; now, by the resolution of making war, obtains a peace upon the very terms proposed by himself and by Spain. An event of great instruction and example, how dangerous it ever proves for weak Princes to call in greater to their aid, which makes them a prey to their friend, instead of their enemy: how the only time of making an advantageous peace is, when your enemy desires it, and when you are in the best condition of pursuing a war; and how vain a counsel it is, to avoid a war by yielding any point of interest or honour; which does but invite new injuries, encourage enemies, and dishearten friends.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II.

Of their Government.

It is evident by what has been discoursed in the former chapter concerning the rise of this State, (which is to be dated from the union of Utrecht) that it cannot properly be styled a commonwealth, but is rather a confederacy of Seven Sovereign Provinces, united together for their common and mutual defence, without any dependence one upon the other. But, to discover the nature of their government from the first springs and motions, it must be taken yet into smaller pieces, by which it will appear, that each of these Provinces is likewise composed of many little states or cities, which have several marks of sovereign power within themselves, and are not subject to the sovereignty of their Province; not being concluded in many things by the majority, but only by the universal concurrence of voices in the Provincial States. For as the States-General cannot make war or peace, or any new alliance, or levies of money, without the consent of every Province; so cannot the States-Provincial conclude any of those points, without the consent of each of the cities that by their constitution has a voice in that assembly. And though in many civil causes there lies an appeal from the common judicature of the cities to the provincial courts of justice; yet, in criminal, there lies none at all; nor can the sovereignty of a Province exercise any judicature, seize upon any offender, or pardon any offence within the jurisdiction of a city, or execute any common resolution or law, but by the justice and officers of the city itself. By this a certain sovereignty in each city

Digitized by Google

is discerned, the chief marks whereof are, the power of exercising judicature, levying of money, and making war and peace; for the other, of coining money, is neither in particular cities or Provinces, but in the generality of the Union, by common agreement.

The main ingredients therefore into the composition of this State are, the freedom of the cities, the sovereignty of the Provinces, the agreements or constitutions of the union, and the authority of the Princes of Orange; which makes the order I shall follow in the account intended of this government. But whereas the several Provinces in the union, and the several cities in each Province, as they have, in their orders and constitutions, some particular differences, as well as a general resemblance; and the account of each distinctly would swell this discourse out of measure, and to little purpose; I shall confine myself to the account of Holland, as the richest, strongest, and of most authority among the Provinces; and of Amsterdam, as that which has the same pre-eminencies among the cities.

The sovereign authority of the city of Amsterdam consists in the decrees or results of their Senate, which is composed of six and thirty men, by whom the justice is administered, according to ancient forms, in the names of officers and places of judicature. But monies are levied by arbitrary resolutions and proportions, according to what appears convenient or necessary upon the change or emergency of occasions. These Senators are for their lives, and the Senate was anciently chosen by the voices of the richer burghers, or freemen of the city, who upon the death of a Senator met together, either in a church, a market, or some other place spacious enough to receive their numbers; and there made an election of the person to

Digitized by Google

succeed, by the majority of voices. But about a hundred and thirty or forty years ago, when the towns of Holland began to increase in circuit, and in people, so as these frequent assemblies grew into danger of tumult and disorder upon every occasion, by reason of their numbers and contention; this election of Senators came, by the resolution of the burghers in one of their General Assemblies, to be devolved for ever upon the standing Senate at that time; so as ever since, when any one of their number dies, a new one is chosen by the rest of the Senate, without any intervention of the other burghers; which makes the government a sort of Oligarchy, and very different from a popular government, as it is generally esteemed by those, who, passing or living in these countries, content themselves with common observations or inquiries. And this resolution of the burghers either was agreed upon, or followed, by general consent or example, about the same time, in all the towns of the Province, though with some difference in number of their Senators.

By this Senate are chosen the chief Magistrates of the town, which are the Burgomasters and Eschevins: the Burgomasters of Amsterdam are four, whereof three are chosen every year, so as one of them stays in office two years; but the three last chosen are called the *Reigning-Burgomasters* for that year, and preside by turns, after the first three months; for, so long after a new election, the Burgomaster of the year before presides; in which time it is supposed the new ones will grow instructed in the forms and duties of their office, and acquainted with the state of the city's affairs.

The Burgomasters are chosen by most voices of all those persons in the Senate who have been either Burgomasters or Eschevins; and their authority resembles that of the Lord-Mayor and Al-

Digitized by Google

dermen in our cities. They represent the dignity of the government, and do the honour of the city upon all occasions. They dispose of all under-offices that fall in their time; and issue out all monies out of the common stock or treasure, judging alone what is necessary for the safety, convenience, or dignity of the city. They keep the key of the bank of Amsterdam (the common treasure of so many nations) which is never opened without the presence of one of them: and they inspect and pursue all the great public works of the city, as the Ramparts and Stadt-house, now almost finished with so great magnificence and so vast expence.

This office is a charge of the greatest trust, authority, and dignity; and so much the greater, by not being of profit or advantage, but only as a way to other constant employments in the city, that are so. The salary of a Burgomaster of Amsterdam is but five hundred guilders a year, though there are offices worth five thousand in their disposal; but yet none of them known to have taken money upon such occasions, which would lose all their credit in the town, and thereby their fortunes by any public employments. They are obliged to no sort of expence more than ordinary modest citizens, in their habits, their attendance, their tables, or any part of their own domestic. They are upon all public occasions waited on by men in salary from the town; and whatever feasts they make upon solemn days, or for the entertainment of any Princes or foreign ministers, the charge is defrayed out of the common treasure, but proportioned by their own discretion. At other times, they appear in all places with the simplicity and modesty of other private citizens. When the Burgomasters office expires, they are of course disposed into the other charges or employments of the town, which are very many and beneficial;

Digitized by Google

unless they lose their credit with the Senate by any want of diligence or fidelity in the discharge of their office, which seldom arrives.

The Eschevins are the court of justice in every town. They are at Amsterdam nine in number; of which seven are chosen annually; but two of the preceding year continue in office. A double number is named by the Senate, out of which the Burgomasters now chuse, as the Prince of Orange did in the former constitution. They are sovereign judges in all criminal causes. In civil, after a certain value, there lies appeal to the court of justice of the Province. But they pass sentence of death upon no man, without first advising with the Burgomasters; though, after that form is passed, they proceed themselves, and are not bound to follow the Burgomasters opinion, but are left to their own: this being only a care or favour of supererogation to the life of a man, which is so soon cut off, and never to be retrieved or made amends for.

Under these sovereign Magistrates, the chief subordinate officers of the town are, the Treasurers, who receive and issue out all monies that are properly the revenues or stock of the city: the Scout, who takes care of the peace, seizes all criminals, and sees the sentences of justice executed, and whose authority is like that of a Sheriff in a county with us, or a Constable in a parish: the Pensioner, who is a civil lawyer, versed in the customs, and records, and privileges of the town, concerning which he informs the magistracy upon occasion, and vindicates them upon disputes with other towns; he is a servant of the Senate and the Burgomasters, delivers their messages, makes their harangues upon all public occasions, and is not unlike the Recorder in one of our towns.

In this city of Amsterdam is the famous bank, which is the greatest treasure, either real or ima-

Digitized by Google

ginary, that is known any where in the world. The place of it is a great vault under the Stadt-house, made strong with all the circumstances of doors and locks, and other appearing cautions of safety, that can be: and it is certain, that whoever is carried to see the bank, shall never fail to find the appearance of a mighty real treasure, in bars of gold and silver, plate, and infinite bags of metals, which are supposed to be all gold and silver, and may be so for aught I know. But, the Burgomasters only having the inspection of this bank, and no man ever taking any particular account of what issues in and out, from age to age, it is impossible to make any calculation, or guess, what proportion the real treasure may hold to the credit of it. Therefore the security of the bank lies not only in the effects that are in it, but in the credit of the whole town or state of Amsterdam, whose stock and revenue is equal to that of some kingdoms; and who are bound to make good all monies that are brought into their bank: the tickets or bills hereof make all the usual great payments, that are made between man and man in the town; and not only in most other places of the United Provinces, but in many other trading parts of the world. So as this bank is properly a general cash, where every man lodges his money, because he esteems it safer, and easier paid in and out, than if it were in his coffers at home; and the bank is so far from paying any interest for what is there brought in, that money in the bank is worth something more in common payments, than what runs current in coin from hand to hand; no other money passing in the bank, but in the species of coin the best known, the most ascertained, and the most generally current in all parts of the Higher as well as the Lower Germany.

The revenues of Amsterdam arise out of the constant excise upon all sorts of commodities bought

Digitized by Google

and sold within the precinct; or, out of the rents of those houses or lands that belong in common to the city; or, out of certain duties and impositions upon every house, towards the uses of charity, and the repairs, or adornments, or fortifications of the place; or else, out of extraordinary levies consented to by the Senate, for furnishing their part of the public charge that is agreed to by their Deputies in the Provincial States, for the use of the Province; or by the Deputies of the States of Holland in the States-General, for support of the union. And all these payments are made into one common stock of the town, not as many of ours are, into that of the parish, so as attempts may be easier made at the calculations of their whole revenue; and I have heard it affirmed, that what is paid of all kinds to public uses of the States-General, the Province, and the city, in Amsterdam, amounts to above sixteen hundred thousand pounds Sterling a-year. But I enter into no computations, nor give these for any thing more, than what I have heard from men who pretended to make such enquiries, which I confess, I did not. It is certain that, in no town, strength, beauty, and convenience are better provided for, nor with more unlimited expence, than in this, by the magnificence of their public buildings, as the Stadthouse and Arsenals; the number and spaciousness, as well as order and revenues, of their many hospitals; the commodiousness of their canals, running through the chief streets of passage; the mighty strength of their bastions and ramparts; and the neatness, as well as convenience, of their streets, so far as can be compassed in so great a confluence of industrious people; all which could never be atchieved without a charge much exceeding what seems proportioned to the revenue of one single town.

The Senate chuses the Deputies which are sent

Digitized by Google

from this city to the States of Holland; the sovereignty whereof is represented by Deputies of the Nobles and Towns, composing nineteen voices; of which the nobles have only the first, and the cities eighteen, according to the number of those which are called *Stemms*, the other cities and towns of the Province having no voice in the States. These cities were originally but six, Dort, Haerlem, Delf, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Tergou; but were increased, by Prince William of Nassau, to the number of eighteen, by the addition of Rotterdam, Gorcum, Schedam, Schonoven, Briel, Alcmaer, Horne, Enchusen, Edam, Moninckdam, Medenblick, and Permeren. This makes as great an inequality in the government of the Province, by such a small city as Permeren having an equal voice in the Provincial States with Amsterdam (which pays perhaps half of all charge of the Province) as seems to be in the States-General, by so small a Province as Overyssel having an equal voice in the States-General with that of Holland, which contributes more than half to the general charge of the union. But this was by some writers of that age interpreted to be done by the Prince's authority, to lessen that of the nobles, and balance that of the greater cities, by the voices of the smaller, whose dependences were easier to be gained and secured.

The Nobles, though they are few in this Province, yet are not represented by all their number, but by eight or nine, who as Deputies from their body have session in the States Provincial; and who, when one among them dies, chuse another to succeed him. Though they have all together but one voice equal to the smallest town; yet they are very considerable in the government, by possessing many of the best charges both civil and military, by having the direction of all the ecclesiastical revenue that was seized by the State upon

Digitized by Google

the change of religion, and by sending their Deputies to all the councils both of the Generality and the Province, and by the nomination of one Counsellor in the two great courts of justice. They give their voice first in the Assembly of the States, and thereby a great weight to the business in consultation. The Pensioner of Holland is seated with them, delivers their voice for them, and assists at all their deliberations before they come to the Assembly. He is, properly, but minister or servant of the Province, and so his place or rank is behind all their Deputies; but has always great credit, because he is perpetual, or seldom discharged; though of right he ought to be chosen or renewed every fifth year. He has place in all the several assemblies of the Province, and in the States proposes all affairs, gathers the opinions, and forms or digests the resolutions; pretending likewise a power, not to conclude any very important affair by plurality of voices, when he judges in his conscience he ought not to do it, and that it will be of ill consequence or prejudice to the Province. He is likewise one of their constant Deputies in the States-General.

The Deputies of the cities are drawn out of the Magistrates and Senate of each town: their number is uncertain and arbitrary, according to the customs or pleasure of the cities that send them, because they have all together but one voice, and are all maintained at their cities charge: but commonly one of the Burgomasters and the Pensioner are of the number.

The States of Holland have their session in the court at the Hague, and assemble ordinarily four times a-year, in February, June, September, and November. In the former sessions, they provide for the filling up of all vacant charges, and for renewing the farms of all the several taxes, and for

Digitized by Google

consulting about any matters that concern either the general good of the Province, or any particular differences arising between the towns. But, in November, they meet purposely to resolve upon the continuance of the charge which falls to the share of their Province the following year, according to what may have been agreed upon by the Deputies of the States-General, as necessary for the support of the State or Union.

For extraordinary occasions, they are convoked by a council called the *Gecommitteer de Raeden*, or the commissioned Counsellors, who are properly a Council of State of the Province, composed of several Deputies; one from the nobles; one from each of the chief towns; and but one from three of the smaller towns, each of the three chusing him by turns. And this council sits constantly at the Hague, and both proposes to the Provincial States, at their extraordinary assemblies, the matters of deliberation, and executes their resolutions.

In these assemblies, though all are equal in voices, and any one hinders a result; yet it seldom happens, but that united by one common bond of interest, and having all one common end of public good, they come after full debates to easy resolutions; yielding to the power of reason, where it is clear and strong, and suppressing all private passions or interests, so as the smaller part seldom contests, hard or long, what the greater agrees of. When the Deputies of the States agree in opinion, they send some of their number to their respective towns, proposing the affair and the reasons alledged, and desiring orders from them to conclude; which seldom fails, if the necessity or utility be evident: if it be more intricate, or suffers delay, the States adjourn for such a time, as admits the return of all the Deputies to their towns; where their influence and interest, and the impressions of the debates in

Digitized by Google

their provincial assemblies, make the consent of the cities easier gained.

Besides the States and Council mentioned, the Province has likewise a Chamber of accounts, who manage the general revenues of the Province: and, besides this trust, they have the absolute disposition of the ancient demesne of Holland, without giving any account to the States of the Province. Only at times, either upon usual intervals, or upon a necessity of money, the States call upon them for a subsidy of two or three hundred thousand crowns, or more, as they are pressed, or conceive the chamber to be grown rich, beyond what is proportioned to the general design of increasing the ease and fortunes of those persons who compose it. The States of Holland dispose of these charges to men grown aged in their service, and who have passed through most of the employments of State with the esteem of prudence and integrity; and such persons find here an honourable and profitable retreat.

The Provinces of Holland and Zealand, as they used formerly to have one Governor in the time of the houses of Burgundy and Austria; so they have long had one common judicature, which is exercised by two courts of justice, each of them common to both the Provinces. The first is composed of twelve Counsellors, nine of Holland and three of Zealand, of whom the Governor of the Provinces is the head; by the old constitution used to preside whenever he pleased, and to name all the Counsellors except one, who was chosen by the nobles. This court judges without appeal in all criminal causes; but in civil there lies appeal to the other court, which is called the High Council, from which there is no appeal, but only by petition to the States of the Province for a revision: when these judge there is reason for it, they grant letters.

Digitized by Google

patent to that purpose, naming some Syndiques out of the towns, who, being added to the Counsellors of the two former courts, revise and judge the cause in the last resort. And this course seems to have been instituted by way of supply or imitation of the chamber of Mechlin, to which, before the revolt of the Provinces, there lay an appeal, by way of revision, from all or most of the provincial courts of justice, as there still doth in the Spanish Provinces of the Netherlands.

The Union is made up of the seven sovereign Provinces before named, who chuse their respective Deputies, and send them to the Hague, for the composing of three several colleges, called the States-General, the Council of State, and the Chamber of Accounts. The sovereign power of this united State lies effectively in the Assembly of the States-General, which used at first to be convoked, upon extraordinary occasions, by the Council of State; but that seldom, in regard they usually consisted of above eight hundred persons, whose meeting together in one place, from so many several parts, gave too great a shake to the whole body of the union; made the debates long, and sometimes confused; the resolutions slow, and, upon sudden occasions, out of time. In the absence of the States-General, the Council of State represented their authority, and executed their resolutions, and judged of the necessity of a new convocation; till, after the Earl of Leicester's departure from the government, the Provincial States desired of the General, that they might, by their constant respective Deputies, continue their assemblies under the name of States-General, which were never after assembled but at Bergen op Zoom, for ratifying with more solemn form and authority the truce concluded with Duke Albert and Spain.

This desire of the Provinces was grounded upon

Digitized by Google

the pretences that the Council of State convoked them but seldom, and at will; and that, being to execute all in their absence, they thereby arrogated to themselves too great an authority in the State. But a more secret reason had greater weight in this affair, which was, that the English Ambassador had, by agreement with Queen Elizabeth, a constant place in their Council of State; and, upon the distastes arising between the Provinces and the Earl of Leicester, with some jealousies of the Queen's disposition to make a peace with Spain, they had no mind that her Ambassador should be present any longer in the first digestion of their affairs, which was then usually made in the Council of State. And hereupon they first framed the ordinary council, called the States-General, which has ever since passed by that name, and sits constantly in the court at the Hague, represents the sovereignty of the union, gives audience and dispatch to all foreign ministers; but yet is indeed only a representative of the States-General, the assemblies whereof are wholly disused.

The Council of State, the Admiralty, and the Treasury, are all subordinate to this council: all of which are continued in as near a resemblance, as could be, to the several councils used in the time when the Provinces were subject to their several principalities, or united under one in the houses of Burgundy and Austria; only the several Deputies (composing one voice) now succeeding the single persons employed under the former government: and the Hague, which was the ancient seat of the Counts of Holland, still continues to be so of all these councils; where the palace of the former Sovereigns lodges the Prince of Orange as Governor, and receives these several councils as attending still upon the sovereignty, represented by the States-General.

The members of all these councils are placed and

Digitized by Google

changed by the several Provinces according to their different or agreeing customs. To the States-General every one sends their Deputies, in what number they please; some two, some ten, or twelve; which makes no difference, because all matters are carried, not by the votes of persons, but of Provinces: and all the Deputies from one Province, how few or many soever, have one single vote. The Provinces differ likewise in the time fixed for their deputation; some sending for a year, some for more, and others for life. The Province of Holland sends to the States-General one of their nobles, who is perpetual; two Deputies chosen out of their eight chief towns, and one out of North Holland; and with these, two of their provincial council of State, and their Pensioner.

Neither Stadtholder or Governor, or any person in military charge, has session in the States-General. Every Province presides their week in turns, and by the most qualified person of the Deputies of that Province: he sits in a chair with arms, at the middle of a long table capable of holding about thirty persons; for about that number this council is usually composed of. The Greffier, who is in nature of a secretary, sits at the lower end of the table. When a foreign minister has audience, he is seated at the middle of this table, over-against the President, who proposes all matters in this assembly; makes the Greffier read all papers; puts the question; calls the voices of the Provinces; and forms the conclusion. Or, if he refuses to conclude according to the plurality, he is obliged to resign his place to the President of the ensuing week, who concludes for him.

This is the course in all affairs before them, except in cases of peace and war, of foreign alliances, of raising or coining of monies, or the privileges of each Province or member of the union. In all

Digitized by Google

which, all the Provinces must concur, plurality being not at all weighed or observed. This council is not sovereign, but only represents the sovereignty; and therefore, though Ambassadors are both received and sent in their name, yet neither are their own chosen, nor foreign ministers answered, nor any of those mentioned affairs resolved, without consulting first the States of each Province by their respective Deputies, and receiving orders from them; and in other important matters, though decided by plurality, they frequently consult with the Council of State.

Nor has this method or constitution ever been broken since their State began, excepting only in one affair, which was in January 1668, when his Majesty sent me over to propose a league of mutual defence with this State, and another for the preservation of Flanders from the invasion of France, which had already conquered a great part of the Spanish Provinces, and left the rest at the mercy of the next campaign. Upon this occasion I had the fortune to prevail with the States-General to conclude three treaties, and upon them draw up and sign the several instruments, in the space of five days, without passing the essential forms of their government by any recourse to the Provinces, which must likewise have had it to the several cities: there, I knew, those foreign ministers, whose duty and interest it was to oppose this affair, expected to meet and to elude it; which could not have failed, in case it had run that circle, since engaging the voice of one city must have broken it: it is true, that, in concluding these alliances without commission from their principals, the Deputies of the States-General ventured their heads, if they had been disowned by their Provinces; but being all unanimous, and led by the clear evidence of so direct and so important an interest

Digitized by Google

(which must have been lost by the usual delays) they all agreed to run the hazard; and were so far from being disowned, that they were applauded by all the members of every Province: having thereby changed the whole face of affairs in Christendom, and laid the foundation of the triple alliance and the peace of Aix (which were concluded about four months after). So great has the force of reason and interest ever proved in this State, not only to the uniting of all voices in their assemblies, but to the absolving of the greatest breach of their original constitutions; even in a State whose safety and greatness has been chiefly founded upon the severe and exact observance of order and method in all their counsels and executions. Nor have they ever used, at any other time, any greater means to agree and unite the several members of their union, in the resolutions necessary, upon the most pressing occasions, than for the agreeing Provinces to name some of their ablest persons to go and confer with the dissenting, and represent those reasons and interests by which they have been induced to their opinions.

The Council of State is composed of Deputies from the several Provinces, but after another manner than the States-General, the number being fixed. Gelderland sends two, Holland three, Zealand and Utrecht two a-piece, Friezland, Overyssel, and Groninguen, each of them one, making in all twelve. They vote not by Provinces, but by personal voices; and every Deputy presides by turns. In this council the Governor of the Provinces has session, and a decisive voice; and the Treasurer-General, session, but a voice only deliberative; yet he has much credit here, being for life; and so is the person deputed to this council from the Nobles of Holland, and the Deputies of the Province of Zealand. The rest are but for two, three, or four years.

Digitized by Google

The Council of State executes the resolutions of the States-General; consults and proposes to them the most expedient ways of raising troops, and levying monies, as well as the proportions of both, which they conceive necessary in all conjunctures and revolutions of the state; superintends the milice, the fortifications, the contributions out of the enemies country, the forms and disposal of all passports, and the affairs, revenues, and government of all places conquered since the union; which, being gained by the common arms of the State, depend upon the States-General, and not upon any particular Province.

Towards the end of every year, this council forms a state of the expence they conceive will be necessary for the year ensuing; presents it to the States-General, desiring them to demand so much of the States Provincial, to be raised according to the usual proportions, which are, of 100,000 guilders,

	Grs.	St.	D.
Gelderland	3,612	05	00
Holland	58,309	01	10
Zealand	9,183	14	02
Utrecht	5,830	17	11
Friezland	11,661	15	10
Overyssel	3,571	08	04
Groninguen	5,830	17	11

This petition, as it is called, is made to the States-General, in the name of the Governor and Council of State, which is but a continuance of the forms used in the time of their Sovereigns, and still by the Governors and Council of State in the Spanish Netherlands: petition signifying barely asking or demanding, though implying the thing demanded to be wholly in the right and power of them that give. It was used by the first Counts only upon extraordinary occasions and necessities;

Digitized by Google

but in the time of the houses of Burgundy and Austria grew to be a thing of course, and annual, as it is still in the Spanish Provinces.

The Council of State disposes of all sums of money destined for all extraordinary affairs, and expedites the orders for the whole expence of the State upon the resolutions first taken, in the main, by the States-General. The orders must be signed by three Deputies of several Provinces, as well as by the Treasurer-General, and then registered in the chamber of accounts, before the Receiver-General pays them, which is then done without any difficulty, charge, or delay.

Every Province raises what monies it pleases, and by what ways or means, sends its *quota*, or share, of the general charge, to the Receiver-General, and converts the rest to the present use, or reserves it for the future occasions, of the Province.

The Chamber of Accounts was erected about sixty years ago, for the ease of the Council of State, to examine and state all accounts of all the several receivers, to controul and register the orders of the Council of State, which disposes of the finances: and this chamber is composed of two Deputies from each Province, who are changed every three years.

Besides these colleges is the Council of the Admiralty; who, when the States-General, by advice of the Council of State, have destined a fleet of such a number and force to be set out, have the absolute disposition of the marine affairs, as well in the choice and equipage of all the several ships, as in issuing the monies allotted for that service.

This college is subdivided into five, of which three are in Holland, viz. one in Amsterdam, another at Rotterdam, and the third at Horn: the fourth is at Middleburgh in Zealand, and the fifth

Digitized by Google

at Harlinguen in Friezland. Each of these is composed of seven Deputies, four of that Province, where the college resides; and three named by the other Provinces. The Admiral, or, in his absence, the Vice-Admiral, has session in all these colleges, and presides when he is present. They take cognizance of all crimes committed at sea; judge all pirates that are taken, and all frauds or negligences in the payment or collections of the customs; which are particularly affected to the Admiralty, and applicable to no other use. This fund, being not sufficient in times of war, is supplied by the States with whatever more is necessary from other funds; but in time of peace, being little exhausted by other constant charge besides that of convoys to their several fleets of merchants in all parts, the remainder of this revenue is applied to the building of great ships of war, and furnishing the several arsenals and stores with all sorts of provision necessary for the building and rigging of more ships than can be needed by the course of a long war.

So soon as the number and force of the fleets designed for any expedition is agreed by the States-General, and given out by the Council of State to the Admiralty; each particular college furnishes their own proportion, which is known, as well as that of the several Provinces, in all monies that are to be raised. In all which, the Admiral has no other share or advantage, besides his bare salary, and his proportion in prizes that are taken. The Captains and superior officers of each squadron are chosen by the several colleges; the number of men appointed for every ship: after which, each Captain uses his best diligence and credit to fill his number with the best men he can get, and takes the whole care and charge of victualling his own ship for the time intended for that expedition, and

Digitized by Google

signified to him by the Admiralty; and this at a certain rate of so much a man. And by the good or ill discharge of his trust, as well as that of providing Chirurgeons, medicines, and all things necessary for the health of the men, each Captain grows into good or ill credit with the seamen, and by their report, with the Admiralties; upon whose opinion and esteem the fortune of all sea-officers depends: so as, in all their expeditions, there appears rather an emulation among the particular Captains, who shall treat his seamen best in these points, and employ the monies allotted for their victualling to the best advantage, than any little knavish practices, of filling their own purses by keeping their men's bellies empty, or forcing them to corrupted unwholesome diet; upon which, and upon cleanliness in their ships, the health of many people crowded up into so little room seems chiefly to depend.

The salaries of all the great officers of this State are very small: I have already mentioned that of a Burgomaster's of Amsterdam to be about fifty pounds Sterling a-year: that of their Vice-Admiral (for, since the last Prince of Orange's death, to the year 1670, there had been no Admiral) is five hundred, and that of the Pensioner of Holland two hundred.

The greatness of this State seems much to consist in these orders, how confused soever, and of different pieces, they may seem; but more in two main effects of them, which are, the good choice of the officers of chief trust in the Cities, Provinces, and State: and the great simplicity and modesty in the common port or living of their chiefest ministers; without which, the absoluteness of the Senates in each town, and the immensity of taxes through the whole State, would never be endured by the people with any patience; being both of

Digitized by Google

them greater than in many of those governments which are esteemed most arbitrary among their neighbours. But, in the assemblies and debates of their Senates, every man's abilities are discovered, as their dispositions are in the conduct of their lives and domestique among their fellow-citizens. The observation of these either raises, or suppresses, the credit of particular men, both among the people, and the Senates, of their towns; who, to maintain their authority with less popular envy or discontent, give much to the general opinion of the people in the choice of their Magistrates: by this means it comes to pass, that, though perhaps the nation generally be not wise, yet the government is, because it is composed of the wisest of the nation; which may give it an advantage over many others, where ability is of more common growth, but of less use to the public; if it happens that neither wisdom nor honesty are the qualities which bring men to the management of state-affairs, as they usually do in this commonwealth.

Besides, though these people, who are naturally cold and heavy, may not be ingenious enough to furnish a pleasant or agreeable conversation, yet they want not plain downright sense to understand and do their business both public and private, which is a talent very different from the other; and I know not whether they often meet: for the first proceeds from heat of the brain, which makes the spirits more airy and volatile, and thereby the motions of thought lighter and quicker, and the range of imagination much greater than in cold heads where the spirits are more earthy and dull: thought moves slower and heavier, but thereby the impressions of it are deeper, and last longer; one imagination being not so frequently, nor so easily, effaced by another, as where new ones are continually arising. This makes duller men more con-

Digitized by Google

stant and steady, and quicker men more inconstant and uncertain; whereas the greatest ability in business seems to be the steady pursuit of some one thing, till there is an end of it, with perpetual application and endeavour not to be diverted by every representation of new hopes or fears of difficulty or danger, or of some better design. The first of these talents cuts like a razor, the other like a hatchet; one has thinness of edge, and fineness of metal and temper, but is easily turned by any substance that is hard and resists: the other has toughness and weight which makes it cut through, or go deep wherever it falls; and therefore one is for adornment, the other for use.

It may be said further, that the heat of the heart commonly goes along with that of the brain; so that passions are warmer, where imaginations are quicker: and there are few men (unless in case of some evident natural defect) but have sense enough to distinguish in gross between right and wrong, between good and bad, when represented to them; and consequently have judgment enough to do their business, if it be left to itself, and not swayed nor corrupted by some humour or passion, by anger or pride, by love or by scorn, ambition or avarice, delight or revenge: so as that the coldness of passion seems to be the natural ground of ability and honesty among men, as the government or moderation of them the great end of philosophical and moral instructions. These speculations may perhaps a little lessen the common wonder, how we should meet with in one nation so little show of parts and of wit, and so great evidence of wisdom and prudence, as has appeared in the conduct and successes of this State, for near an hundred years; which needs no other testimony, than the mighty growth and power it arrived to from so weak and contemptible seeds and beginnings.

Digitized by Google

The other circumstance I mentioned, as an occasion of their greatness, was the simplicity and modesty of their Magistrates in their way of living, which is so general, that I never knew one among them exceed the common frugal popular air: and so great, that, of the two chief officers in my time, Vice-Admiral De Ruiter and the Pensioner De Witt (one generally esteemed by foreign nations as great a seaman, and the other as great a statesman, as any of their age) I never saw the first in clothes better than the commonest sea-captain, nor with above one man following him, nor in a coach; and, in his own house, neither was the size, building, furniture, or entertainment, at all exceeding the use of every common merchant and tradesman in his town. For the Pensioner De Witt, who had the great influence in the government, the whole train and expence of his domestique went very equal with other common Deputies or ministers of the State; his habit grave, and plain, and popular; his table, what only served turn for his family, or a friend; his train (besides commissaries and clerks kept for him, in an office adjoining to his house, at the public charge) was only one man, who performed all the menial service of his house at home; and, upon his visits of ceremony, putting on a plain livery-cloak, attended his coach abroad: for, upon other occasions, he was seen usually in the streets on foot, and alone, like the commonest burgher of the town. Nor was this manner of life affected, or used only by these particular men, but was the general fashion and mode among all the magistrates of the State: for I speak not of the military officers, who are reckoned their servants, and live in a different garb, though generally modester than in other countries.

Thus this stomachful people, who could not en-

Digitized by Google

dure the least exercise of arbitrary power or impositions, or the sight of any foreign troops, under the Spanish government, have since been inured to all of them, in the highest degree, under their own popular magistrates; bridled with hard laws, terrified with severe executions, environed with foreign forces; and oppressed with the most cruel hardship and variety of taxes that was ever known under any government; but all this, whilst the way to office and authority lies through those qualities which acquire the general esteem of the people; whilst no man is exempted from the danger and current of laws; whilst soldiers are confined to frontier garrisons (the guard of inland or trading towns being left to the burghers themselves;) and whilst no great riches are seen to enter by public payments into private purses, either to raise families, or to feed the prodigal expences of vain, extravagant, and luxurious men; but all public monies are applied to the safety, greatness, or honour of the State, and the Magistrates themselves bear an equal share in all the burdens they impose.

The authority of the Princes of Orange, though intermitted upon the untimely death of the last, and infancy of this present Prince; yet, as it must be ever acknowledged to have had a most essential part in the first frame of this government, and in all the fortunes thereof, during the whole growth and progress of the State: so has it ever preserved a very strong root, not only in six of the Provinces, but even in the general and popular affections of the Province of Holland itself, whose States have, for these last twenty years, so much endeavoured to suppress, or exclude it.

This began in the person of Prince William of Nassau, at the very birth of the State, and not so much by the quality of being Governor of

Digitized by Google

Holland and Zealand in Charles V's and Philip II's time, as by the esteem of so great wisdom, goodness, and courage, as excelled in that Prince, and seems to have been from him derived to his whole race; being, indeed, the qualities that naturally acquire esteem and authority among the people, in all governments. Nor has this nation in particular, since the time perhaps of Civilis, ever been without some head, under some title or other; but always an head subordinate to their laws and customs, and to the sovereign power of the State.

In the first constitution of this government, after the revolt from Spain, all the power and rights of Prince William of Orange, as Governor of the Provinces, seem to have been carefully reserved. But those which remained inherent in the Sovereign, were devolved upon the assembly of the States-General, so as in them remained the power of making peace and war, and all foreign alliances, and of raising and coining of monies: in the Prince, the command of all land and sea forces, as Captain-general and Admiral, and thereby the disposition of all military commands, the power of pardoning the penalty of crimes, the chusing of magistrates upon the nomination of the towns; for they presented three to the Prince, who elected one out of that number. Originally the States-General were convoked by the council of State, where the Prince had the greatest influence: nor, since that change, have the States used to resolve any important matter without his advice. Besides all this, as the States-General represented the sovereignty, so did the Prince of Orange the dignity, of this State, by public guards, and the attendance of all military officers; by the application of all foreign ministers, and all pretenders at home; by the splendor of his court and magnificence of his expence; sup-

Digitized by Google

ported not only by the pensions and rights of his several charges and commands, but by a mighty patrimonial revenue in lands and sovereign principalities and lordships, as well in France, Germany, and Burgundy, as in thy several parts of the Seventeen Provinces; so as Prince Henry was used to answer some that would have flattered him into the designs of a more arbitrary power, that he had as much as any wise Prince would desire in that State; since he wanted none indeed, besides that of punishing men, and raising money; whereas he had rather the envy of the first should lie upon the forms of the government, and he knew the other could never be supported, without the consent of the people, to that degree which was necessary for the defence of so small a State against so mighty Princes as their neighbours.

Upon these foundations was this State first established, and by these orders maintained till the death of the last Prince of Orange: when, by the great influence of the Province of Holland among the rest, the authority of the Princes came to be shared among the several magistracies of the State: those of the cities assumed the last nomination of their several Magistrates; the States Provincial, the disposal of all military commands in those troops which their share was to pay; and the States-General, the command of the armies, by officers of their own appointment, substituted and changed at their will. No power remained to pardon what was once condemned by rigour of law; nor any person to represent the port and dignity of a Sovereign State: both which could not fail of being sensibly missed by the people; since no man in particular can be secure of offending, or would therefore absolutely despair of impunity himself, though he would have others do so; and men are generally pleased with the pomp and splendor of a

Digitized by Google

government, not only as it is an amusement for idle people, but as it is a mark of the greatness, honour, and riches of their country.

However, these defects were for near twenty years supplied in some measure, and this frame supported, by the great authority and riches of the Province of Holland, which drew a sort of dependence from the other six; and by the great sufficiency, integrity, and constancy of their chief Minister, and by the effect of both in the prosperous successes of their affairs: yet, having been a constitution strained against the current vein and humour of the people, it was always evident, that, upon the growth of this young Prince, the great virtues and qualities he derived from the mixture of such royal and such princely blood, could not fail, in time, of raising his authority to equal at least, if not to surpass, that of his glorious ancestors.

Because the curious may desire to know something of the other Provinces, as well as Holland, at least in general, and where they differ; it may be observed, that the constitutions of Gelderland, Zealand, and Utrecht agree much with those of Holland; the States in each Province being composed of Deputies from the Nobles and the cities: but with these small differences; in Gelderland, all the Nobles, that have certain fees or lordships in the Province, have session; they compose one half of the States, and the Deputies of the towns the other; and, though some certain persons among them are deputed to the States-General, yet any of the Nobles of Gelder may have place there, if he will attend at his own charge.

In Zealand, the nobility having been extinguished in the Spanish wars, and the Prince of Orange possessing the marquisates of Flushing and Terveer, his Highness alone makes that part of the States

Digitized by Google

in the Province, by the quality and title of first or sole Noble of Zealand; and thereby has, by his Deputy, the first place and voice in the States of the Province, the Council of State, and Chamber of accounts: as Sovereign of Flushing and Terveer, he likewise creates the Magistrates, and consequently disposes the voices, not only of the Nobles, but also of two towns; whereas there are in all but six that send their Deputies to the States, and make up the sovereignty of the Province.

In Utrecht, besides the Deputies of the Nobles and towns, eight Delegates of the Clergy have session, and make a third member in the States of the Province. These are elected out of the four great Chapters of the town, the preferments and revenues whereof (though anciently ecclesiastical) yet are now possessed by lay-persons, who are most of them gentlemen of the Province.

The government of the Province of Friezland is wholly different from that of the four Provinces already mentioned; and is composed of four members, which are called, the Quarter of Ostergo, consisting of eleven Baillages; of Westergo, consisting of nine; and of Seveawolden, consisting of ten. Each Baillage comprehends a certain number of villages, ten, twelve, fifteen, or twenty, according to their several extents. The fourth member consists of the towns of the Province, which are eleven in number. These four members have each of them right of sending their Deputies to the States, that is, two chosen out of every Baillage, and two out of every town. And these represent the sovereignty of the Province, and deliberate and conclude of all affairs, of what importance soever, without any recourse to those who deputed them, or obligation to know their intentions; which the Deputies of all the former Provinces are strictly bound to, and either must follow the instructions

Digitized by Google

they bring with them to the assembly, or know the resolution of their principals, before they conclude of any new affair that arises.

In the other Provinces, the Nobles of the towns chuse the Deputies which compose the State; but, in Friezland, the constitution is of quite another sort: for every Baillage, which is composed of a certain extent of country and number of villages (as has been said) is governed by a Bailie, whom, in their language, they call *Greetman;* and this officer governs his circuit, with the assistance of a certain number of persons who are called his assessors, who together judge of all civil causes in the first instance, but with appeal to the court of justice of the Province. When the States are convoked, every Bailie assembles together all the persons of what quality soever, who possess a certain quantity of lands within his district; and these men, by most voices, name the two Deputies which each Baillage sends to the assembly of the States.

This assembly, as it represents the sovereignty of the Province, so it disposes of all vacant charges, chuses the nine Deputies who compose that permanent college which is the council of State of the Province, and likewise twelve Counsellors (that is, three for every quarter) who compose the court of justice of the Province, and judge of all civil causes in the last resort, but of all criminal from the first instance, there being no other criminal jurisdiction, but this only, through the Province; whereas, in the other Provinces, there is no town which has it not within itself; and several, both Lords, and villages, have the high and low justice belonging to them.

In the Province of Groninguen, which is upon the same tract of land, the elections of the Deputies out of the country are made as in Friezland, by persons possessed of set proportions of land; but,

Digitized by Google

in Overyssel, all Nobles who are qualified by having seigneurial lands, make a part of the States.

These three Provinces, with Westphalia, and all those countries between the Wezer, the Yssel, and the Rhine, were the seat of the ancient Frizons, who, under the name of Saxons (given them from the weapon they wore, made like a scithe, with the edge outwards, and called in their language *Seaxes*) were the fierce conquerors of our British Island, being called in upon the desertion of the Roman forces, and the cruel incursions of the Picts against a people whose long wars, at first with the Romans, and afterwards servitude under them, had exhausted all the bravest blood of their nation, either in their own, or their masters, succeeding quarrels, and depressed the hearts and courages of the rest.

The Bishop of Munster, whose territories lie in this tract of land, gave me the first certain evidences of those being the seats of our ancient Saxons, which have since been confirmed to me by many things I have observed in reading the stories of those times, and by what has been affirmed to me upon enquiry of the Frizons old language having still so great affinity with our old English, as to appear easily to have been the same; most of their words still retaining the same signification and sound, very different from the language of the Hollanders. This is the most remarkable in a little town called Malcuera upon the Zudder sea, in Friezland, which is still built after the fashion of the old German villages, described by Tacitus; without any use or observation of lines or angles, but as if every man had built in a common field, just where he had a mind, so as a stranger, when he goes in, must have a guide to find the way out again.

Upon these informations and remarks, and the particular account afterwards given me of the constitutions of the Province of Friezland, so different

Digitized by Google

from the others; I began to make reflexions upon them as the likeliest originals of many ancient constitutions among us, of which no others can be found, and which may seem to have been introduced by the Saxons here, and by their long and absolute possession of that part of the isle, called England, to have been so planted and rooted among us, as to have waded safe, in a great measure, through the succeeding inundations and conquests of the Danish and Norman nations. And, perhaps, there may be much matter found for the curious remarks of some diligent and studious antiquaries, in the comparisons of the Bailli or Greetman among the Frizons, with our Sheriff: of their Assessors, with our Justices of the peace: of their judging civil causes in their district, upon the first resort, but not without appeal, with the course of our Quarter-Sessions: of their chief judicature, being composed of Counsellors of four several quarters, with our four circuits. Of these being the common criminal judicature of the country: of the composition of their States, with our Parliament, at least, our House of Commons: in the particulars of two Deputies being chosen from each town, as with us, and two from each Baillage, as from each county here: and these last by voices of all persons possessed of a certain quantity of land, and at a meeting assembled by the Greetman to that purpose: and these Deputies having power to resolve of all matters without resort to those that chuse them, or knowledge of their intentions; which are all circumstances agreeing with our constitutions, but absolutely differing from those of the other Provinces in the United States, and from the composition, I think, of the States, either now, or formerly, used in the other nations of Europe.

To this original, I suppose we likewise owe what I have often wondered at, that in England we nei-

Digitized by Google

ther see, nor find upon record, any Lord, or lordship that pretends to have the exercise of judicature belonging to it, either that which is called high or low justice, which seems to be a badge of some ancient sovereignty: though we see them very frequent among our neighbours, both under more arbitrary monarchies, and under the most free and popular States.

CHAPTER III.

Of their Situation.

HOLLAND, Zealand, Friezland, and Groninguen are seated upon the sea, and make the strength and greatness of this State: the other three, with the conquered towns Brabant, Flanders, and Cleve, make only the outworks or frontiers, serving chiefly for safety and defence of these. No man can tell the strange and mighty changes, that may have been made in the face and bounds of maritime countries, at one time or other, by furious inundations, upon the unusual concurrence of land-floods, winds, and tides; and therefore no man knows, whether the Province of Holland may not have been, in some past ages, all wood, and rough unequal ground, as some old traditions go; and levelled to what we see, by the sea's breaking in, and continuing long upon the land, since recovered by its recess, and with the help of industry. For it is evident, that the sea, for some space of years, advances continually upon one coast, retiring from the opposite; and, in another age, quite changes this course, yielding up what it had seized, and seizing what it had yielded up, without any reason to be given of such contrary motions. But, I suppose, this great change was made in

Digitized by Google

Holland, when the sea first parted England from the continent, breaking through a neck of land between Dover and Calais; which may be a tale, but I am sure is no record. It is certain, on the contrary, that sixteen hundred years ago there was no usual mention or memory of any such changes; and that the face of all these coasts, and nature of the soil, especially that of Holland, was much as it is now; allowing only the improvements of riches, time, and industry; which appears by the description made in Tacitus,* both of the limits of the isle of Batavia, and the nature of the soil, as well as the climate, with the very names and course of rivers still remaining.

It is likely, the changes arrived since that age in these countries may have been made by stoppages grown in time with the rolling of sands upon the mouths of three great rivers, which disembogued into the sea through the coasts of these Provinces; that is, the Rhine, the Maes, and the Scheld. The ancient Rhine divided, where Skenckscone now stands, into two rivers; of which, one kept the name, till, running near Leyden, it fell into the sea at Catwick; where are still seen, at low tides, the foundations of an ancient Roman castle that commanded the mouth of this river: but this is wholly stopped up, though a great canal still preserves the name of the old Rhine. The Maes, running by Dort and Rotterdam, fell, as it now does, into the sea at the Briel, with mighty issues of water; but the sands, gathered for three or four leagues upon

* Rhenus—apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur—ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior, verso cognomento Vahalem accolæ dicunt, mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine, ejusque immenso ore eundem in oceanum effunditur.

Cum interim flexu autumni, et crebris imbribus superfusus amnis, palustrem humilemque insulam in faciem stagni opplevit.

Digitized by Google

this coast, make the haven extreme dangerous, without great skill of pilots, and use of pilot-boats, that come out with every tide, to welcome and secure the ships bound for that river: and it is probable, that these sands, having obstructed the free course of the river, have at times caused or increased those inundations, out of which so many islands have been recovered, and of which that part of the country is so much composed.

The Scheld seems to have had its issue by Walcherin in Zealand, which was an island in the mouth of that river, till the inundations of that, and the Maes, seem to have been joined together by some great helps or irruptions of the sea, by which the whole country was overwhelmed, which now makes that inland sea that serves for a common passage between Holland, Zealand, Flanders, and Brabant: the sea, for some leagues from Zealand, lies generally upon such banks of sand, as it does upon the mouth of the Maes, though separated by something better channels than are found in the other.

That which seems likeliest to have been the occasion of stopping up wholly one of these rivers, and obstructing the others, is the course of Westerly winds (which drive upon this shore) being so much more constant and violent than the East: for, taking the seasons and years one with another, I suppose, there will be observed three parts of Westerly for one Easterly wind: besides, that these generally attend the calm frosts and fair weather; and the other stormy and foul. And I have had occasion to make experiment of the sands rising and sinking before a haven, by two fits of these contrary winds, above four feet. This, I presume, is likewise the natural reason of so many deep and commodious havens found upon all the English side of the channel, and so few (or indeed none) upon the French and Dutch: an advantage seeming to

Digitized by Google

be given us by nature, and never to be equalled by any art or expence of our neighbours.

I remember no mention in ancient authors of that which is now called the Zudder sea; which makes me imagine that it may have been formed likewise by some great inundation, breaking in between the Tessel-islands, and others, that lie still in a line contiguous, and like the broken remainders of a continued coast. This seems more probable, from the great shallowness of that sea, and flatness of the sands, upon the whole extent of it; from the violent rage of the waters breaking in that way, which threaten the parts of North-Holland about Medenblick and Enchusen, and brave it over the highest and strongest digues of the Province, upon every high tide, and storm at North-West; as likewise from the names of East and West Friezland, which should have been one continent, till divided by this sea: for, in the time of Tacitus,* no other distinction was known, but that of greater or lesser Frizons, and that only from the measure of their numbers, or forces; and, though they were said to have great lakes among them, yet that word seems to import they were of fresh water, which is made yet plainer by the word *ambiunt*,† that shews those lakes to have been inhabited round by these nations; from all this I should guess, that the more inland part of the Zudder sea was one of the lakes there mentioned, between which and the Tessel and Ulie islands there lay anciently a great tract of land (where the sands are still so shallow, and so continued, as seems to make it evident) but since covered by some great irruptions of waters, that joined those of the sea and the lake together, and

* A fronte Frisii excipiunt: majoribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est, ex modo virium: utræque nationes usque ad oceanum Rheno prætexuntur.

† Ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus. Tacit. De mor. Ger.

Digitized by Google

thereby made that great bay, now called the Zudder sea, by favour whereof the town of Amsterdam has grown to be the most frequented haven of the world.

Whatever it was, whether nature or accident, and upon what occasion soever it arrived, the soil of the whole Province of Holland is generally flat, like the sea in a calm, and looks as if, after a long contention between land and water, which it should belong to, it had at length been divided between them: for to consider the great rivers, and the strange number of canals that are found in this Province, and do not only lead to every great town, but almost to every village, and every farm-house in the country; and the infinity of sails that are seen every-where coursing up and down upon them; one would imagine the water to have shared with the land, and the people that live in boats to hold some proportion with those that live in houses. And this is one great advantage towards trade, which is natural to the situation, and not to be attained in any country where there is not the same level and softness of soil, which makes the cutting of canals so easy work, as to be attempted almost by every private man: and one horse shall draw in a boat more than fifty can do in a cart; whereas carriage makes a great part of the price in all heavy commodities: and, by this easy way of travelling, an industrious man loses no time from his business, for he writes, eats, or sleeps, while he goes; whereas the time of labouring or industrious men is the greatest native commodity of any country.

There is, besides, one very great lake of fresh water still remaining in the midst of this Province, by the name of Harle Maer, which might, as they say, be easily drained, and would thereby make a mighty

Digitized by Google

addition of land to a country where nothing is more wanted; and receive a great quantity of people, in which they abound, and who make their greatness and riches. Much discourse there has been about such an attempt; but the city of Leyden, having no other way of refreshing their town, or renewing the water of their canals, but from this Maer, will never consent to it. On the other side, Amsterdam will ever oppose the opening and cleansing of the old channel of the Rhine, which, they say, might easily be compassed, and by which the town of Leyden would grow maritime, and share a great part of the trade now engrossed by Amsterdam. There is in North-Holland an essay already made at the possibility of draining these great lakes, by one of about two leagues broad having been made firm land, within these forty years: this makes that part of the country called the Bemster, being now the richest soil of the Province, lying upon a dead flat, divided with canals, and the ways through it distinguished with ranges of trees, which make the pleasantest summer landscape of any country I have seen of that sort.

Another advantage of their situation for trade is made by those two great rivers of the Rhine and Maes, reaching up, and navigable so mighty a length, into so rich and populous countries of the higher and lower Germany; which as it brings down all the commodities from those parts to the magazines of Holland, that vent them by their shipping into all parts of the world, where the market calls for them; so, with something more labour and time, it returns all the merchandizes of other parts into those countries that are seated upon those streams. For their commodious seat, as to the trade of the Straits, or Baltic, or any parts of the ocean, I see no advantage they have

Digitized by Google

of most parts of England; and they must certainly yield to many we possess, if we had other equal circumstances to value them.

The lowness and flatness of their lands makes in a great measure the richness of their soil, that is easily overflowed every winter, so as the whole country, at that season, seems to lie under water, which, in spring, is driven out again by mills. But that which mends the earth, spoils the air, which would be all fog and mist, if it were not cleared by the sharpness of their frosts, which never fail with every East wind for about four months of the year, and are much fiercer than in the same latitude with us, because that wind comes to them over a mighty length of dry continent; but is moistened by the vapours, or softened by the warmth of the sea's motion, before it reaches us.

And this is the greatest disadvantage of trade they receive from their situation, though necessary to their health; because many times their havens are all shut up for two or three months with ice, when ours are open and free.

The fierce sharpness of these winds makes the changes of their weather and seasons more violent and surprising, than in any place I know; so as a warm faint air turns in a night to a sharp frost, with the wind coming into the North-East: and the contrary with another change of wind. The spring is much shorter, and less agreeable, than with us; the winter much colder, and some parts of the summer much hotter; and I have known, more than once, the violence of one give way to that of the other, like the cold fit of an ague to the hot, without any good temper between.

The flatness of their land exposes it to the danger of the sea, and forces them to infinite charge in the continual fences and repairs of their banks to oppose it; which employ yearly more men, than

Digitized by Google

all the corn of the Province of Holland could maintain (as one of their chief Ministers has told me.) They have lately found the common sea-weed to be the best material for these digues, which, fastened with a thin mixture of earth, yields a little to the force of the sea, and returns when the waves give back: whether they are thereby the safer against water, as, they say, houses that shake are against wind; or whether, as pious naturalists observe, all things carry about them that which serves for a remedy against the mischief they do in the world.

The extreme moisture of the air I take to be the occasion of the great neatness of their houses, and cleanliness in their towns. For without the help of those customs their country would not be habitable by such crowds of people, but the air would corrupt upon every hot season, and expose the inhabitants to general and infectious diseases; which they hardly escape three summers together, especially about Leyden, where the waters are not so easily renewed; and for this reason, I suppose, it is, that Leyden is found to be the neatest and cleanliest kept, of all their towns.

The same moisture of air makes all metals apt to rust and wood to mould; which forces them, by continual pains of rubbing and scowering, to seek a prevention, or cure: this makes the brightness and cleanness that seems affected in their houses, and is called natural to them, by people who think no further. So the deepness of their soil, and wetness of seasons, which would render it unpassable, forces them, not only to exactness of paving in their streets, but to the expence of so long cawseys between many of their towns, and in their highways: as, indeed, most national customs are the effect of some unseen or unobserved natural causes or necessities.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IV.

Of their People and Dispositions.

THE people of Holland may be divided into these several classes: the clowns or boors (as they call them) who cultivate the land: the mariners or schippers, who supply their ships and inland-boats: the merchants or traders, who fill their towns: the Renteeners, or men that live in all their chief cities upon the rents or interest of estates formerly acquired in their families: and the Gentlemen, and officers of their armies.

The first are a race of people diligent rather than laborious; dull and slow of understanding, and so not dealt with by hasty words, but managed easily by soft and fair; and yielding to plain reason, if you give them time to understand it. In the country and villages not too near the great towns, they seem plain and honest, and content with their own; so that if, in bounty, you give them a shilling for what is worth but a groat, they will take the current price, and give you the rest again; if you bid them take it, they know not what you mean, and sometimes ask, if you are a fool. They know no other good but the supply of what nature requires, and the common increase of wealth. They feed most upon herbs, roots, and milks; and by that means, I suppose, neither their strength nor vigour seem answerable to the size or bulk of their bodies.

The mariners are a plain, but much rougher people; whether from the element they live in, or from their food, which is generally fish and corn, and heartier than that of the boors. They are surly and ill-mannered, which is mistaken for pride; but, I believe, is learned, as all manners are, by the

Digitized by Google

conversation we use. Now theirs lying only among one another, or with winds and waves, which are not moved or wrought upon by any language or observance, or to be dealt with, but by pains and by patience; these are all the qualities their mariners have learned; their valour is passive rather than active; and their language is little more, than what is of necessary use to their business.

The merchants and tradesmen, both the greater and mechanic, living in towns that are of great resort, both by strangers and passengers of their own, are more mercurial (wit being sharpened by commerce and conversation of cities) though they are not very inventive, which is the gift of warmer heads; yet are they great in imitation, and so far, many times, as goes beyond originals: of mighty industry, and constant application to the ends they propose and pursue. They make use of their skill, and their wit, to take advantage of other men's ignorance and folly they deal with; are great exacters, where the law is in their own hands: in other points, where they deal with men that understand like themselves, and are under the reach of justice and laws, they are the plainest and best dealers in the world; which seems not to grow so much from a principle of conscience, or morality, as from a custom or habit introduced by the necessity of trade among them, which depends as much upon common honesty, as war does upon discipline; and without which all would break up, merchants would turn pedlars, and soldiers thieves.

Those families, which live upon their patrimonial estates in all the great cities, are a people differently bred and mannered from the traders, though like them in the modesty of garb and habit, and the parsimony of living. Their youth are generally bred up at schools, and at the universities of Leyden or Utrecht, in the common studies of hu-

Digitized by Google

man learning, but chiefly of the civil law, which is that of their country, at least as far as it is so in France and Spain. For (as much as I understand of those countries) no decisions or decrees of the civil law, nor constitutions of the Roman Emperors, have the force or current of law among them, as is commonly believed, but only the force of reasons when alledged before their courts of judicature, as far as the authority of men esteemed wise passes for reason: but the ancient customs of those several countries, and the ordonnances of their Kings and Princes, consented to by the Estates, or in France verified by Parliaments, have only the strength and authority of law among them.

Where these families are rich, their youths, after the course of their studies at home, travel for some years, as the sons of our gentry use to do; but their journies are chiefly into England and France, not much into Italy, seldomer into Spain, nor often into the more northern countries, unless in company or train of their public Ministers. The chief end of their breeding is, to make them fit for the service of their country in the magistracy of their towns, their Provinces, and their State. And of these kind of men are the civil officers of this government generally composed, being descended of families who have many times been constantly in the magistracy of their native towns for many years, and some for several ages.

Such were most or all of the chief Ministers, and the persons that composed their chief councils, in the time of my residence among them; and not men of mean or mechanic trades, as it is commonly received among foreigners, and makes the subject of comical jests upon their government. This does not exclude many merchants, or traders in gross, from being often seen in the offices of their cities, and sometimes deputed to their States; nor

Digitized by Google

several of their States from turning their stocks in the management of some very beneficial trade by servants, and houses maintained to that purpose. But the generality of the States and Magistrates are of the other sort; their estates consisting in the pensions of their public charges, in the rents of lands, or interest of money upon the Cantores, or in actions of the East-India company, or in shares upon the adventures of great trading merchants.

Nor do these families, habituated as it were to the magistracy of their towns and provinces, usually arrive at great or excessive riches; the salaries of public employments and interest being low, but the revenue of lands being yet very much lower, and seldom exceeding the profit of two in the hundred. They content themselves with the honour of being useful to the public, with the esteem of their cities or their country, and with the ease of their fortunes; which seldom fails, by the frugality of their living, grown universal by being (I suppose) at first necessary, but since honourable, among them.

The mighty growth and excess of riches is seen among the merchants and traders, whose application lies wholly that way, and who are the better content to have so little share in the government, desiring only security in what they possess; troubled with no cares but those of their fortunes, and the management of their trades, and turning the rest of their time and thought to the divertisement of their lives. Yet these, when they attain great wealth, chuse to breed up their sons in the way, and marry their daughters into the families, of those others most generally credited in their towns, and versed in their magistracies; and thereby introduce their families into the way of government and honour, which consists not here in titles, but in public employments.

Digitized by Google

The next rank among them is that of their Gentlemen or Nobles, who, in the Province of Holland (to which I chiefly confine these observations) are very few, most of the families having been extinguished in the long wars with Spain. But those that remain, are in a manner all employed in the military or civil charges of the Province or State. These are, in their customs, and manners, and way of living, a good deal different from the rest of the people; and, having been bred much abroad, rather affect the garb of their neighbour-courts, than the popular air of their own country. They value themselves more upon their Nobility, than men do in other countries, where it is more common; and would think themselves utterly dishonoured by the marriage of one that was not of their rank, though it were to make up the broken fortune of a Noble family by the wealth of a Plebeian. They strive to imitate the French in their mien, their cloaths, their way of talk, of eating, of gallantry or debauchery; and are, in my mind, something worse than they would be, by affecting to be better than they need; making sometimes but ill copies, whereas they might be good originals, by refining or improving the customs or virtues proper to their own country and climate. They are otherwise an honest, well-natured, friendly, and gentlemanly sort of men, and acquit themselves generally with honour and merit, where their country employs them.

The officers of their armies live after the customs and fashions of the gentlemen; and so do many sons of the rich merchants, who, returning from travel abroad, have more designs upon their own pleasure, and the vanity of appearing, than upon the service of their country: or, if they pretend to enter into that, it is rather by the army than the State. And all these are generally desirous to see

Digitized by Google

a court in their country, that they may value themselves at home, by the qualities they have learned abroad; and make a figure which agrees better with their own humour, and the manner of courts, than with the customs and orders that prevail in more popular governments.

There are some customs, or dispositions, that seem to run generally through all these degrees of men among them; as great frugality, and order, in their expences. Their common riches lie in every man's having more than he spends; or, to say it more properly, in every man's spending less than he has coming in, be that what it will: nor does it enter into men's heads among them, that the common port or course of expence should equal the revenue; and, when this happens, they think at least they have lived that year to no purpose; and the train of it discredits a man among them, as much as any vicious or prodigal extravagance does in other countries. This enables every man to bear their extreme taxes, and makes them less sensible than they would be in other places; for he that lives upon two parts in five of what he has coming in, if he pays two more to the State, he does but part with what he should have laid up, and had no present use for; whereas he that spends yearly what he receives, if he pays but the fiftieth part to the public, it goes from him, like that which was necessary to buy bread or cloaths for himself or his family.

This makes the beauty and strength of their towns, the commodiousness of travelling in their country by their canals, bridges, and cawseys; the pleasantness of their walks, and their grafts in and near all their cities: and, in short, the beauty, convenience, and sometimes magnificence, of all public works, to which every man pays as willingly, and takes as much pleasure and vanity in them,

Digitized by Google

as those of other countries do in the same circumstances, among the possessions of their families, or private inheritance. What they can spare, besides the necessary expence of their domestique, the public payments, and the common course of still increasing their stock, is laid out in the fabric, adornment, or furniture of their houses, things not so transitory, or so prejudicial to health and to business, as the constant excesses and luxury of tables; nor perhaps altogether so vain as the extravagant expences of cloaths and attendance; at least, these end wholly in a man's self, and the satisfaction of his personal humour; whereas the other make not only the riches of a family, but contribute much towards the public beauty and honour of a country.

The order, in casting up their expences, is so great and general, that no man offers at any undertaking which he is not prepared for, and master of his design, before he begins; so as I have neither observed nor heard of any building, public or private, that has not been finished in the time designed for it. So are their canals, cawseys, and bridges; so was their way from the Hague to Skeveling, a work that might have become the old Romans, considering how soon it was dispatched. The house at the Hague, built purposely for casting of cannon, was finished in one summer, during the heat of the first English war, and looked rather like a design of vanity in their government, than necessity or use. The stadthouse of Amsterdam has been left purposely to time, without any limitation in the first design, either of that, or of expence; both that the diligence and the genius of so many succeeding Magistrates should be employed in the collection of all things, that could be esteemed proper to increase the beauty or mag-

Digitized by Google

nificence of that structure; and, perhaps, a little to reprieve the experiment of a current prediction, That the trade of that city should begin to fall, the same year the stadthouse should be finished, as it did at Antwerp.

Charity seems to be very national among them, though it be regulated by orders of the country, and not usually moved by the common objects of compassion. But it is seen in the admirable provisions that are made out of it for all sorts of persons that can want, or ought to be kept in a government. Among the many and various hospitals, that are in every man's curiosity and talk that travels their country, I was affected with none more than that of the aged seamen at Enchuysen, which is contrived, finished, and ordered, as if it were done with a kind intention of some well-natured man, that those, who had passed their whole lives in the hardships and incommodities of the sea, should find a retreat stored with all the eases and conveniencies, that old age is capable of feeling and enjoying. And here I met with the only rich man, that ever I saw in my life: for one of these old seamen entertained me a good while with the plain stories of his fifty years voyages and adventures, while I was viewing their hospital, and the church adjoining; I gave him, at parting, a piece of their coin about the value of a crown: he took it smiling, and offered it me again; but, when I refused it, he asked me, What he should do with money? for all, that ever they wanted, was provided for them at their house. I left him to overcome his modesty as he could; but a servant, coming after me, saw him give it to a little girl that opened the church-door, as she passed by him: which made me reflect upon the fantastic calculation of riches and poverty that is current in the world, by which a man, that

Digitized by Google

wants a million, is a Prince; he, that wants but a groat, is a beggar; and this was a poor man, that wanted nothing at all.

In general, all appetites and passions seem to run lower and cooler here, than in other countries where I have conversed. Avarice may be excepted. And yet that shall not be so violent, where it feeds only upon industry and parsimony, as where it breaks out into fraud, rapine, and oppression. But quarrels are seldom seen among them, unless in their drink, revenge rarely heard of, or jealousy known. Their tempers are not airy enough for joy, or any unusual strains of pleasant humour, nor warm enough for love. This is talked of sometimes among the younger men, but as a thing they have heard of, rather than felt; and as a discourse that becomes them, rather than affects them. I have known some among them, that personated lovers well enough; but none that I ever thought were at heart in love; nor any of the women, that seemed at all to care whether they were so or no. Whether it be, that they are such lovers of their liberty, as not to bear the servitude of a mistress, any more than that of a master; or, that the dulness of their air renders them less susceptible of more refined passions; or, that they are diverted from it by the general intention every man has upon his business, whatever it is (nothing being so mortal an enemy of love, that suffers no rival, as any bent of thought another way.)

The same causes may have had the same effects among their married women, who have the whole care and absolute management of all their domestique; and live with very general good fame: a certain sort of chastity being hereditary and habitual among them, as probity among the men.

The same dulness of air may dispose them to that strange assiduity and constant application of

Digitized by Google

their minds, with that perpetual study and labour upon any thing they design and take in hand. This gives them patience to pursue the quest of riches by so long voyages and adventures to the Indies, and by so long parsimony as that of their whole lives. Nay, I have (for a more particular example of this disposition among them) known one man that employed four-and-twenty years about the making and perfecting of a globe, and another above thirty about the inlaying of a table. Nor does any man know, how much may have been contributed towards the great things in all kinds, both public and private, that have been atchieved among them, by this one humour of never giving over what they imagine may be brought to pass, nor leaving one scent to follow another they meet with; which is the property of the lighter and more ingenious nations: and the humour of a government being usually the same with that of the persons that compose it, not only in this, but in all other points; so as, where men that govern are wise, good, steady, and just, the government will appear so too; and the contrary, where they are otherwise.

The same qualities in their air may incline them to the entertainments and customs of drinking, which are so much laid to their charge, and, for aught I know, may not only be necessary to their health (as they generally believe it) but to the vigour and improvement of their understandings, in the midst of a thick foggy air, and so much coldness of temper and complexion. For though the use or excess of drinking may destroy men's abilities who live in better climates, and are of warmer constitutions; wine to hot brains being like oil to fire, and making the spirits, by too much lightness, evaporate into smoke, and perfect airy imaginations; or, by too much heat, rage into frenzy, or at least

Digitized by Google

into humours and thoughts that have a great mixture of it; yet, on the other side, it may improve men's parts and abilities of cold complexions, and in dull air; and may be necessary to thaw and move the frozen and unactive spirits of the brain; to rouse sleepy thought, and refine grosser imaginations, and perhaps to animate the spirits of the heart, as well as enliven those of the brain: therefore the old Germans seemed to have some reason in their custom, not to execute any great resolutions which had not been twice debated and agreed at two several assemblies, one in an afternoon, and the other in a morning; because, they thought, their counsels might want vigour when they were sober, as well as caution when they had drunk.

Yet, in Holland, I have observed very few of their chief officers or Ministers of State vicious in this kind; or, if they drank much, it was at set feasts, and rather to acquit themselves, than of choice or inclination: and for the merchants and traders, with whom it is customary, they never do it in a morning, nor till they come from the Exchange, where the business of the day is commonly dispatched; nay, it hardly enters into their heads, that it is lawful to drink at all before that time; but they will excuse it, if you come to their house, and tell you, how sorry they are you come in a morning, when they cannot offer you to drink; as if at that time of day it were not only unlawful for them to drink themselves, but so much as for a stranger to do it within their walls.

The afternoon, or, at least, the evening, is given to whatever they find will divert them; and is no more than needs, considering how they spend the rest of the day, in thought, or in cares; in toils, or in business. For nature cannot hold out with constant labour of body, and as little with constant bent or application of mind: much motion of the

Digitized by Google

same parts of the brain either wearies and wastes them too fast for repair, or else (as it were) fires the wheels, and so ends either in general decays of the body, or distractions of the mind (for these are usually occasioned by perpetual motions of thought about some one object; whether it be about one's self in excesses of pride, or about another in those of love, or of grief.) Therefore none are so excusable as men of much care and thought, or of great business, for giving up their times of leisure to any pleasures or diversions that offend no laws, nor hurt others or themselves: and this seems the reason, that, in all civil constitutions, not only honours, but riches, are annexed to the charges of those who govern, and upon whom the public cares are meant to be devolved; not only, that they may not be distracted from these, by the cares of their own domestic or private interests; but that, by the help of esteem, and of riches, they may have those pleasures and diversions in their reach, which idle men neither need nor deserve, but which are necessary for their refreshment, or repair of spirits exhausted with cares and with toil, and which serve to sweeten and preserve those lives that would otherwise wear out too fast, or grow too uneasy in the service of the public.

The two characters that are left by the old Roman writers, of the ancient Batavi* or Hollanders, are, that they were both the bravest among the German nations, and the most obstinate lovers and defenders of their liberties; which made them exempted from all tribute by the Romans, who desired only soldiers of their nation, to make up

* Queruntur (Fabii Valentis) legiones, orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio, veteres illos et tot bellorum auctores non abrumpendos ut corpori validissimos artus. TACIT. hist.

Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi non multum ex ripa sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt. TACIT. de mor. Ger.

Digitized by Google

some of their auxiliary bands, as they did in former ages of those nations in Italy that were their friends and allies. The last disposition seems to have continued constant and national among them, ever since that time, and never to have more appeared, than in the rise and constitutions of their present State. It does not seem to be so of the first, or that the people in general can be said now to be valiant; a quality, of old, so national among them, and which, by the several wars of the Counts of Holland (especially with the Frizons) and by the desperate defences made against the Spaniards, by this people, in the beginnings of their State, should seem to have lasted long, and to have but lately decayed: that is, since the whole application of their natives has been turned to commerce and trade, and the vein of their domestic lives so much to parsimony (by circumstances which will be the subject of another chapter;) and since the main of all their forces, and body of their army, has been composed, and continually supplied out of their neighbour-nations.

For soldiers and merchants are not found, by experience, to be more incompatible in their abode, than the dispositions and customs seem to be different, that render a people fit for trade, and for war. The soldier thinks of a short life, and a merry. The trader reckons upon a long, and a painful. One intends to make his fortunes suddenly by his courage, by victory and spoil: the other slower, but surer, by craft, by treaty, and by industry. This makes the first frank and generous, and throw away upon his pleasures what has been gotten in one danger, and may either be lost, or repaired, in the next: the other, wary and frugal, and loth to part with, in a day, what he has been labouring for a year, and has no hopes to recover, but by the same paces of diligence and time. One

Digitized by Google

aims only to preserve what he has, as the fruit of his father's pains; or what he shall get, as the fruit of his own: t'other thinks the price of a little blood is more than of a great deal of sweat, and means to live upon other men's labours, and possess, in an hour, what they have been years in acquiring: this makes one love to live under stanch orders and laws; while t'other would have all depend upon arbitrary power and will. The trader reckons upon growing richer, and by his account better, the longer he lives; which makes him careful of his health, and his life, and so apt to be orderly and temperate in his diet; while the soldier is thoughtless, or prodigal of both; and having not his meat ready at hours, or when he has a mind to it, eats full and greedily whenever he gets to it; and perhaps difference of diet may make greater difference in men's natural courage, than is commonly thought of.

For courage may proceed, in some measure, from the temper of air, may be formed by discipline, and acquired by use, or infused by opinion; but that which is more natural, and so more national in some countries than in others, seems to arise from the heat or strength of spirits about the heart, which may a great deal depend upon the measures and the substance of the food men are used to. This made a great physician among us say, he would make any man a coward with six weeks dieting; and Prince Maurice of Orange call for the English that were newly come over, and had (as he said) their own beef in their bellies, for any bold and desperate action. This may be one reason, why the gentry, in all places of the world, are braver than the peasantry, whose hearts are depressed, not only by slavery, but by short and heartless food, the effect of their poverty. This is a cause, why the yeomanry and commonalty of

Digitized by Google

England are generally braver than in other countries, because by the plenty and constitutions of the kingdom they are so much easier in their rents and their taxes, and fare so much better and fuller than those of their rank in any other nation. Their chief, and, indeed, constant food, being of flesh: and among all creatures, both the birds and the beasts, we shall still find those, that feed upon flesh, to be the fierce and the bold; and on the contrary, the fearful and faint-hearted to feed upon grass, and upon plants. I think, there can be pretended but two exceptions to this rule, which are the cock and the horse; whereas the courage of the one is noted no where but in England, and there only in certain races: and for the other, all the courage we commend in them is, the want of fear; and they are observed to grow much fiercer, whenever by custom, or necessity, they have been used to flesh.

From all this may be inferred, that not only the long disuse of arms among the native Hollanders, (especially at land) and making use of other nations chiefly in their milice; but the arts of trade, as well as peace, and their great parsimony in diet, and eating so very little flesh (which the common people seldom do above once a week) may have helped to debase much the ancient valour of the nation, at least in the occasions of service at land. Their seamen are much better, but not so good as those of Zealand, who are generally brave; which, I suppose, comes by these having upon all occasions turned so much more to privateering, and men of war; and those of Holland being generally employed in trading and merchant-ships; while their men of war are manned by mariners of all nations, who are very numerous among them, but especially those of the Eastland coasts of Germany, Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians.

Digitized by Google

It is odd, that veins of courage should seem to run like veins of good earth in a country, and yet not only those of the Province of Hainault among the Spanish, and of Gelderland among the United Provinces, are esteemed better soldiers than the rest; but the burghers of Valenciennes among the towns of Flanders, and of Nimeguen among those of the Lower-Gelder, are observed to be particularly brave. But there may be firmness and constancy of courage from tradition, as well as of belief: nor, methinks, should any man know how to be a coward, that is brought up with the opinion, that all of his nation or city have ever been valiant.

I can say nothing of what is usually laid to their charge, about their being cruel, besides what we have so often heard of their barbarous usage to some of our men in the East-Indies, and what we have so lately seen of their savage murder of their Pensioner De Wit; a person that deserved another fate, and a better return from his country, after eighteen years spent in their ministry, without any care of his entertainments or ease, and little of his fortune. A man of unwearied industry, inflexible constancy, sound, clear, and deep understanding, and untainted integrity; so that, whenever he was blinded, it was by the passion he had for that which he esteemed the good and interest of his State. This testimony is justly due to him from all that practised him; and is the more willingly paid, since there can be as little interest to flatter, as honour to reproach the dead. But this action of that people may be attributed to the misfortune of their country; and is so unlike the appearance of their customs and dispositions, living, as I saw them, under the orders and laws of a quiet and settled state; that one must confess mankind to be a very various creature, and none to be known, that has not been seen in his rage, as well as his drink.

Digitized by Google

They are generally not so long-lived, as in better airs; and begin to decay early, both men and women, especially at Amsterdam: for at the Hague (which is their best air) I have known two considerable men a good deal above seventy, and one of them in very good sense and health: but this is not so usual as it is in England, and in Spain. The diseases of the climate seem to be chiefly the gout and the scurvy; but all hot and dry summers bring some that are infectious among them, especially into Amsterdam and Leyden: these are usually fevers, and lie most in the head, and either kill suddenly, or languish long before they recover. Plagues are not so frequent, at least not in a degree to be taken notice of, for all suppress the talk of them as much as they can, and no distinction is made in the registry of the dead, nor much in the care and attendance of the sick: whether from a belief of predestination, or else a preference of trade, which is the life of the country, before that of particular men.

Strangers among them are apt to complain of the spleen, but those of the country seldom or never: which I take to proceed from their being ever busy, or easily satisfied. For this seems to be the disease of people that are idle, or think themselves but ill entertained, and attribute every fit of dull humour, or imagination, to a formal disease, which they have found this name for; whereas such fits are incident to all men, at one time or other, from the fumes of indigestion, from the common alterations of some insensible degrees in health and vigour;*

* —Ubi tempestas et cœli mobilis humor
Mutavere vias; et Jupiter humidus austris
Densat, erant quæ rara modo, et quæ densa relaxat;
Vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
Nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,
Concipiunt: hinc ille avium concentus in agris,
Et lætæ pecudes, et ovantes gutture corvi.

VIRG. Georg.

Digitized by Google

or from some changes or approaches of change in winds or weather, which affect the finer spirits of the brain, before they grow sensible to other parts; and are apt to alter the shapes, or colours, of whatever is represented to us by our imaginations, whilst we are so affected. Yet this effect is not so strong, but that business, or intention of thought, commonly either resists, or diverts it: and those, who understand the motions of it, let it pass, and return to themselves. But such as are idle, or know not from whence these changes arise, and trouble their heads with notions or schemes of general happiness or unhappiness in life, upon every such fit, begin reflexions on the condition of their bodies, their souls, or their fortunes; and (as all things are then represented in the worst colours) they fall into melancholy apprehensions of one or other, and sometimes of them all: these make deep impression on their minds, and are not easily worn out by the natural returns of good humour, especially if they are often interrupted by the contrary; as happens in some particular constitutions, and more generally in uncertain climates, especially if improved by accidents of ill health, or ill fortune. But this is a disease too refined for this country and people, who are well, when they are not ill; and pleased, when they are not troubled; are content, because they think little of it; and seek their happiness in the common eases and commodities of life, or the increase of riches; not amusing themselves with the more speculative contrivances of passion, or refinements of pleasure.

To conclude this chapter, Holland is a country, where the earth is better than the air, and profit more in request than honour; where there is more sense than wit; more good nature than good humour; and more wealth than pleasure: where a man would chuse rather to travel than to live; shall find more things to observe than desire; and

Digitized by Google

more persons to esteem than to love. But the same qualities and dispositions do not value a private man and a state, nor make a conversation agreeable, and a government great: nor is it unlikely, that some very great King might make but a very ordinary private gentleman, and some very extraordinary gentleman might be capable of making but a very mean Prince.

CHAPTER V.

Of their Religion.

I INTEND not here to speak of religion at all as a divine, but as a mere secular man, when I observe the occasions that seem to have established it in the forms, or with the liberties, wherewith it is now attended in the United Provinces. I believe the reformed religion was introduced there, as well as in England, and the many other countries where it is professed, by the operation of divine will and providence; and by the same, I believe, the Roman catholic was continued in France: where it seemed, by the conspiring of so many accidents in the beginning of Charles the IX's reign, to be so near a change. And whoever doubts this, seems to question not only the will, but the power, of God. Nor will it at all derogate from the honour of a religion, to have been planted in a country by secular means, or civil revolutions, which have, long since, succeeded to those miraculous operations that made way for Christianity in the world. It is enough, that God Almighty infuses belief into the hearts of men, or else ordains it to grow out of religious inquiries and instructions; and that, wherever the generality of a nation come by these means to be of a belief, it is by the force of this concur-

Digitized by Google

rence introduced into the government, and becomes the established religion of that country. So was the reformed profession introduced into England, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and many parts of Germany. So was the Roman catholic restored in France and in Flanders; where, notwithstanding the great concussions that were made in the government by the Hugonots and the Gueuses, yet they were never esteemed in either of those countries to amount further than the seventh or eighth part of the people. And whosoever designs the change of religion in a country or government, by any other means than that of a general conversion of the people, or the greatest part of them, designs all the mischiefs to a nation, that use to usher in, or attend, the two greatest distempers of a State, civil war, or tyranny; which are violence, oppression, cruelty, rapine, intemperance, injustice, and, in short, the miserable effusion of human blood, and the confusion of all laws, orders, and virtues among men.

Such consequences as these, I doubt, are something more than the disputed opinions of any man, or any particular assembly of men, can be worth; since the great and general end of all religion, next to men's happiness hereafter, is their happiness here; as appears by the commandments of God, being the best and greatest moral and civil, as well as divine, precepts, that have been given to a nation; and by the rewards proposed to the piety of the Jews, throughout the Old Testament, which were the blessings of this life, as health, length of age, number of children, plenty, peace, or victory.

Now the way to our future happiness has been perpetually disputed throughout the world, and must be left at last to the impressions made upon every man's belief and conscience, either by na-

Digitized by Google

tural or supernatural arguments and means; which impressions men may disguise or dissemble, but no man can resist. For belief is no more in a man's power, than his stature, or his feature; and he that tells me, I must change my opinion for his, because it is the truer and the better, without other arguments, that have to me the force of conviction; may as well tell me, I must change my grey eyes, for others like his that are black, because these are lovelier, or more in esteem. He that tells me I must inform myself, has reason, if I do it not: but if I endeavour it all that I can, and perhaps more than he ever did, and yet still differ from him; and he, that, it may be, is idle, will have me study on, and inform myself better, and so to the end of my life; then I easily understand what he means by informing, which is, in short, that I must do it, till I come to be of his opinion.

If he, that, perhaps, pursues his pleasures or interests, as much, or more, than I do, and allows me to have as good sense, as he has, in all other matters, tells me, I should be of his opinion, but that passion or interest blinds me; unless he can convince me how, or where, this lies, he is but where he was, only pretends to know me better than I do myself, who cannot imagine, why I should not have as much care of my soul, as he has of his.

A man that tells me, my opinions are absurd or ridiculous, impertinent or unreasonable, because they differ from his, seems to intend a quarrel instead of a dispute; and calls me fool or mad-man, with a little more circumstance; though, perhaps, I pass for one as well in my senses as he, as pertinent in talk, and as prudent in life: yet these are the common civilities, in religious argument, of sufficient and conceited men, who talk much of right reason, and mean always their own; and

Digitized by Google

make their private imagination the measure of general truth. But such language determines all between us, and the dispute comes to end in three words at last, which it might as well have ended in at first, That he is in the right, and I am in the wrong.

The other great end of religion, which is our happiness here, has been generally agreed on by all mankind, as appears in the records of all their laws, as well as all their religions, which come to be established by the concurrence of men's customs and opinions;* though, in the latter, that concurrence may have been produced by divine impressions or inspirations. For all agree in teaching and commanding, in planting and improving, not only those moral virtues which conduce to the felicity and tranquillity of every private man's life, but also those manners and dispositions that tend to the peace, order, and safety of all civil societies and governments among men. Nor could I ever understand, how those who call themselves, and the world usually calls, *religious men*, come to put so great weight upon those points of belief which men never have agreed in, and so little upon those of virtue and morality, in which they have hardly ever disagreed; nor, why a State should venture the subversion of their peace, and their order, which are certain goods, and so universally esteemed, for the propagation of uncertain or contested opinions.

One of the great causes of the first revolt in the Low-Countries appeared to be, the oppression of men's consciences, or persecution in their liberties, their estates, and their lives, upon pretence of religion; and this at a time when there seemed to

* Fiunt adversæ respublicæ ex civium moribus, qui, quocunque fluxerint, cætera secum rapiunt. PLAT. De Rep.

Digitized by Google

be a conspiring disposition in most countries of Christendom, to seek the reformation of some abuses, grown in the doctrine and discipline of the Church, either by the rust of time, by negligence, or by human inventions, passions, and interests. The rigid opposition, given at Rome to this general humour, was followed by a defection of mighty numbers in all those several countries, who professed to reform themselves according to such rules as they thought were necessary for the reformation of the Church. These persons, though they agreed in the main of disowning the Papal power, and reducing belief from the authority of tradition to that of the Scripture; yet they differed much among themselves in other circumstances, especially of discipline, according to the persuasions and impressions of the leading Doctors in their several countries. So the reformed of France became universally Calvinists; but for those of Germany, though they were generally Lutherans, yet there was a great mixture both of Calvinists and Anabaptists among them.

The first persecutions of these reformed arose in Germany, in the time of Charles V, and drove great numbers of them down into the Seventeen Provinces, especially Holland and Brabant, where the privileges of the cities were greater, and the Emperor's government was less severe, as among the subjects of his own native countries. This was the occasion, that in the year 1566, when upon the first insurrection in Flanders, those of the reformed profession began to form consistories, and levy contributions among themselves for support of their common cause; it was resolved, upon consultation among the heads of them, that for declining all differences among themselves, at a time of common exigence, the public profession of their party should be that of the Lutherans, though with

Digitized by Google

liberty and indulgence to those of different opinions. By the union of Utrecht, concluded in 1579, each of the Provinces was left to order the matter of religion, as they thought fit and most conducing to the welfare of their Province; with this provision, that every man should remain free in his religion, and none be examined or entrapped for that cause, according to the pacification at Ghent. But, in the year 1583, it was enacted by general agreement, that the Evangelical religion should be only professed in all the Seven Provinces: which came thereby to be the established religion of this State.

The reasons which seemed to induce them to this settlement were many, and of weight: as first, because by the persecutions arrived in France (where all the reformed were Calvinists) multitudes of people had retired out of that kingdom into the Low-Countries; and by their great commerce and continual intercourse with England, where the reformation agreed much with the Calvinists in point of doctrine, though more with the Lutherans in point of discipline, those opinions came to be credited and propagated more than any other, among the people of these Provinces, so as the numbers were grown to be greater far in the cities of this than of any other profession. Secondly, the succours and supplies both of men and money, by which the weak beginnings of this commonwealth were preserved and fortified, came chiefly from England, from the Protestants of France (when their affairs were successful) and from the Calvinist Princes in Germany, who lay nearest, and were readiest to relieve them. In the next place, because those of this profession seemed the most contrary and violent against the Spaniards, who made themselves heads of the Roman Catholics throughout Christendom; and the hatred

Digitized by Google

of Spain, and their dominion, was so rooted in the hearts of this people, that it had influence upon them in the very choice of their religion. And lastly, because, by this profession, all rights and jurisdiction of the Clergy or Hierarchy being suppressed, there was no ecclesiastical authority left to rise up, and trouble or fetter the civil power; and all the goods and possessions of churches and abbeys were seized wholly into the hands of the State, which made a great increase of the public revenue, a thing the most necessary for the support of their government.

There might perhaps be added one reason more, which was particular to one of the Provinces: for, whereas in most, if not all, other parts of Christendom, the Clergy composed one of the three Estates of the country, and thereby shared with the Nobles and Commons in their influences upon the government, that order never made any part of the Estates in Holland, nor had any vote in their assembly, which consisted only of the Nobles and the cities; and this Province, bearing always the greatest sway in the councils of the Union, was most inclined to the settlement of that profession which gave least pretence of power or jurisdiction to the Clergy, and so agreed most with their own ancient constitutions.

Since this establishment, as well as before, the great care of this State has ever been, to favour no particular or curious inquisition into the faith or religious principles of any peaceable man, who came to live under the protection of their laws, and to suffer no violence or oppression upon any man's conscience, whose opinions broke not out into expressions or actions of ill consequence to the State. A free form of government, either making way for more freedom in religion, or else, having newly contended so far themselves for

Digitized by Google

liberty in this point, they thought it the more unreasonable for them to oppress others. Perhaps, while they were so threatened and endangered by foreign armies, they thought it the more necessary to provide against discontents within, which can never be dangerous, where they are not grounded or fathered upon oppression, in point either of religion or liberty. But, in those two cases, the flame often proves most violent in a State, the more it is shut up, or the longer concealed.

The Roman Catholic religion was alone excepted from the common protection of their laws, making men (as the States believed) worse subjects than the rest, by the acknowledgment of a foreign and superior jurisdiction; for so must all spiritual power needs be, as grounded upon greater hopes and fears than any civil, at least wherever the persuasions from faith are as strong as those from sense; of which there are so many testimonies recorded by the martyrdoms, penances, or conscientious restraints and severities, suffered by infinite persons in all sorts of religion.

Besides, this profession seemed still a retainer of the Spanish government, which was then the great patron of it in the world: yet, such was the care of this State to give all men ease in this point, who ask no more than to serve God, and save their own souls, in their own way and forms; that what was not provided for, by the constitutions of their government, was so, in a very great degree, by the connivance of their officers, who, upon certain constant payments from every family, suffer the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in their several jurisdictions, as free and easy, though not so cheap, and so avowed, as the rest. This, I suppose, has been the reason, that though those of this profession are very numerous in the country,

Digitized by Google

among the peasants, and considerable in the cities, and not admitted to any public charges; yet they seem to be a sound piece of the State, and fast jointed in with the rest; and have neither given any disturbance to the government, nor expressed any inclinations to a change, or to any foreign power, either upon the former wars with Spain, or the later invasions of the Bishop of Munster.

Of all other religions, every man enjoys the free exercise in his own chamber, or his own house, unquestioned and unespied: and if the followers of any sect grow so numerous in any place, that they affect a public congregation, and are content to purchase a place of assembly, to bear the charge of a pastor or teacher, and to pay for this liberty to the public; they go and propose their desire to the Magistrates of the place where they reside, who inform themselves of their opinions, and manners of worship; and if they find nothing in either, destructive to civil society, or prejudicial to the constitutions of their State, and content themselves with the price that is offered for the purchase of this liberty, they easily allow it: but with the condition, that one or more Commissioners shall be appointed, who shall have free admission at all their meetings, shall be both the observers and witnesses of all that is acted or preached among them, and whose testimony shall be received concerning any thing that passes there to the prejudice of the State: in which case, the laws and executions are as severe as against any civil crimes.

Thus the Jews have their allowed Synagogues in Amsterdam and Rotterdam: and, in the first, almost all sects, that are known among Christians, have their public meeting-places; and some whose names are almost worn out in all other parts, as the Brownists, Familists, and others. The Arminians, though they make a great name among

Digitized by Google

them, by being rather the distinction of a party in the State, than a sect in the Church; yet are, in comparison of others, but few in number, though considerable by the persons, who are of the better quality, the more learned and intelligent men, and many of them in the government. The Anabaptists are just the contrary, very numerous, but in the lower ranks of people, mechanics and seamen, and abound chiefly in North-Holland.

The Calvinists make the body of the people, and are possessed of all the public churches in the dominions of the State, as well as of the only Ministers or pastors, who are maintained by the Public; but these have neither lands, nor tithes, nor any authorized contributions from the people, but certain salaries from the State, upon whom they wholly depend: and though they are often very bold in taxing and preaching publicly against the vices, and sometimes the innocent entertainments, of persons most considerable in the government, as well as of the vulgar; yet they are never heard to censure or controul the public actions or resolutions of the State: they are, in general, throughout the country, passionate friends to the house of Orange; and, during the intermission of that authority, found ways of expressing their affections to the person and fortunes of this Prince, without offending the State as it was then constituted. They are fierce enemies of the Arminian party, whose principles were thought to lead them, in Barnevelt's time, towards a conjunction, or at least compliance, with the Spanish religion and government, both which the house of Orange, in the whole course of the war, endeavoured to make irreconcileable with those of the State.

It is hardly to be imagined, how all the violence and sharpness, which accompanies the differences of religion in other countries, seems to be appeased

Digitized by Google

or softened here, by the general freedom which all men enjoy, either by allowance or connivance; nor, how faction and ambition are thereby disabled to colour their interested and seditious designs with the pretences of religion, which has cost the Christian world so much blood for these last hundred and fifty years. No man can here complain of pressure in his conscience: of being forced to any public profession of his private faith: of being restrained from his own manner of worship in his house, or obliged to any other abroad: and whoever asks more in point of religion, without the undisputed evidence of a particular mission from heaven, may be justly suspected not to ask for God's sake, but for his own: since pretending to sovereignty, instead of liberty, in opinion, is indeed pretending the same in authority too, which consists chiefly in opinion: and what man, or party soever, can gain the common or firm belief, of being most immediately inspired, instructed, or favoured of God, will easily obtain the prerogative of being most honoured and obeyed by men.

But in this commonwealth, no man having any reason to complain of oppression in conscience, and no man having hopes, by advancing his religion, to form a party, or break in upon the State, the differences in opinion make none in affections, and little in conversation, where it serves but for entertainment and variety. They argue without interest or anger; they differ without enmity or scorn; and they agree without confederacy. Men live together, like citizens of the world, associated by the common ties of humanity, and by the bonds of peace, under the impartial protection of indifferent laws, with equal encouragement of all art and industry, and equal freedom of speculation and inquiry; all men enjoying their imaginary excellencies and acquisitions of knowledge with as much

Digitized by Google

safety, as their more real possessions and improvements of fortune. The power of religion among them, where it is, lies in every man's heart. The appearance of it is but like a piece of humanity, by which every one falls most into the company or conversation of those, whose customs and humours, whose talk and dispositions, he likes best: and as, in other places, it is in every man's choice with whom he will eat or lodge, with whom go to market, or to court; so it seems to be here, with whom he will pray, or go to church, or associate in the service and worship of God: nor is any more notice taken, or more censure passed, of what every one chuses in these cases, than in the other.

I believe the force of commerce, alliances, and acquaintances, spreading so far as they do in small circuits (such as the Province of Holland) may contribute much to make conversation, and all the offices of common life, so easy, among so different opinions, of which so many several persons are often in every man's eye; and no man checks or takes offence at faces, or customs, or ceremonies, he sees every day, as at those he hears of in places far distant, and perhaps by partial relations, and comes to see late in his life, and after he has long been possessed by passion or prejudice against them. However it is, religion may possibly do more good in other places, but it does less hurt here: and, wherever the invisible effects of it are the greatest and most advantageous, I am sure the visible are so in this country, by the continual and undisturbed civil peace of their government for so long a course of years; and by so mighty an increase of their people, wherein will appear to consist chiefly the vast growth of their trade and riches, and consequently the strength and greatness of their State.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VI.

Of their Trade.

It is evident to those, who have read the most, and travelled farthest, that no country can be found either in this present age, or upon record of any story, where so vast a trade has been managed, as in the narrow compass of the four maritime Provinces of this commonwealth: nay, it is generally esteemed, that they have more shipping belongs to them, than there does to all the rest of Europe. Yet they have no native commodities towards the building or rigging of the smallest vessel; their flax, hemp, pitch, wood, and iron, coming all from abroad, as wool does for cloathing their men, and corn for feeding them. Nor do I know any thing properly of their own growth, that is considerable either for their own necessary use, or for traffic with their neighbours, besides butter, cheese, and earthen-wares. For havens, they have not any good upon their whole coast: the best at Helvoetsluys, which has no trade at all; and Flushing, which has little, in comparison of other towns in Holland: but Amsterdam, that triumphs in the spoils of Lisbon and Antwerp (which before engrossed the greatest trade of Europe and the Indies) seems to be the most incommodious haven they have, being seated upon so shallow waters, that ordinary ships cannot come up to it without the advantage of tides; nor great ones without unlading. The entrance of the Tessel, and passage over the Zudder sea, is more dangerous than a voyage from thence to Spain, lying all in blind and narrow channels; so that it easily appears, that it is not a haven that draws trade, but trade that fills

Digitized by Google

a haven, and brings it in vogue. Nor has Holland grown rich by any native commodities, but by force of industry; by improvement and manufacture of all foreign growths; by being the general magazine of Europe, and furnishing all parts with whatever the market wants or invites; and by their seamen being, as they have properly been called, the common carriers of the world.

Since the ground of trade cannot be deduced from havens, or native commodities (as may well be concluded from the survey of Holland, which has the least and the worst; and of Ireland, which has the most and the best, of both) it were not amiss to consider, from what other source it may be more naturally and certainly derived: for, if we talk of industry, we are still as much to seek, what it is that makes people industrious in one country, and idle in another. I conceive the true original and ground of trade to be, great multitude of people crowded into small compass of land, whereby all things necessary to life become dear, and all men, who have possessions, are induced to parsimony; but those, who have none, are forced to industry and labour, or else to want. Bodies, that are vigorous, fall to labour; such, as are not, supply that defect by some sort of inventions or ingenuity. These customs arise first from necessity, but increase by imitation, and grow in time to be habitual in a country; and wherever they are so, if it lies upon the sea, they naturally break out into trade, both because whatever they want of their own, that is necessary to so many men's lives, must be supplied from abroad; and because, by the multitude of people, and smallness of country, land grows so dear, that the improvement of money that way is inconsiderable, and so turns to sea, where the greatness of the profit makes amends for the venture.

Digitized by Google

This cannot be better illustrated, than by its contrary, which appears no where more than in Ireland; where, by the largeness and plenty of the food, and scarcity of people, all things necessary to life are so cheap, that an industrious man, by two days labour, may gain enough to feed him the rest of the week; which I take to be a very plain ground of the laziness attributed to the people: for men naturally prefer ease before labour, and will not take pains, if they can live idle: though when, by necessity, they have been inured to it, they cannot leave it, being grown a custom necessary to their health, and to their very entertainment: nor perhaps is the change harder, from constant ease to labour, than from constant labour to ease.

This account of the original of trade agrees with the experience of all ages, and with the constitutions of all places, where it has most flourished in the world, as Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Syracuse, Agrigentum, Rhodes, Venice, Holland; and will be so obvious to every man, that knows and considers the situation, the extent, and the nature, of all those countries, that it will need no enlargement upon the comparisons.

By these examples, which are all of commonwealths, and by the decay and dissolution of trade in the six first, when they came to be conquered, or subjected to arbitrary dominions, it might be concluded, that there is something, in that form of government, proper and natural to trade, in a more peculiar manner. But the height it arrived to at Bruges and Antwerp, under their Princes, for four or five descents of the house of Burgundy, and two of Austria, shews, it may thrive under good Princes and legal monarchies, as well as under free States. Under arbitrary and tyrannical power it must of necessity decay and dissolve, because this empties a country of people, whereas the others fill it; this

Digitized by Google

extinguishes industry, whilst men are in doubt of enjoying themselves what they get, or leaving it to their children; the others encourage it, by securing men of both: one fills a country with soldiers, and the other with merchants; who were never known yet to live well together, because they cannot trust one another. And as trade cannot live without mutual trust among private men; so it cannot grow or thrive, to any great degree, without a confidence both of public and private safety, and consequently a trust in the government, from an opinion of its strength, wisdom, and justice; which must be grounded either upon the personal virtues and qualities of a Prince, or else upon the constitutions and orders of a State.

It appears to every man's eye who hath travelled Holland, and observed the number and vicinity of their great and populous towns and villages, with the prodigious improvement of almost every spot of ground in the country, and the great multitudes constantly employed in their shipping abroad and their boats at home, that no other known country in the world, of the same extent, holds any proportion with this in numbers of people; and, if that be the great foundation of trade, the best account that can be given of theirs, will be by considering the causes and accidents, that have served to force or invite so vast a confluence of people into their country. In the first rank may be placed the civil wars, calamities, persecutions, oppressions, or discontents, that have been so fatal to most of their neighbours, for some time before, as well as since, their State began.

The persecutions for matter of religion, in Germany under Charles V, in France under Henry II, and in England under Queen Mary, forced great numbers of people out of all those countries, to shelter themselves in the several towns of the Seven-

Digitized by Google

teen Provinces, where the ancient liberties of the country, and privileges of the cities, had been inviolate under so long a succession of Princes, and gave protection to these oppressed strangers, who filled their cities both with people and trade, and raised Antwerp to such a height and renown, as continued till the Duke of Alva's arrival in the Low-Countries. The fright of this man, and the orders he brought, and arms to execute them, began to scatter the flock of people that for some time had been nested there; so as, in very few months, above 100,000 families removed out of the country. But when the Seven Provinces united, and began to defend themselves with success, under the conduct of the Prince of Orange, and the countenance of England and France, and the persecutions for religion began to grow sharp in the Spanish provinces, all the professors of the reformed religion, and haters of the Spanish dominion, retired into the strong cities of this commonwealth, and gave the same date to the growth of trade there, and the decay of it at Antwerp.

The long civil wars, at first of France, then of Germany, and lastly of England, served to increase the swarm in this country, not only by such as were persecuted at home, but great numbers of peaceable men, who came here to seek for quiet in their lives, and safety in their possessions or trades; like those birds that, upon the approach of a rough winter-season, leave the countries where they were born and bred, fly away to some kinder and softer climate, and never return till the frosts are past, and the winds are laid at home.

The invitation these people had, to fix rather in Holland than in many better countries, seems to have been, at first, the great strength of their towns, which by their maritime situation, and the low flatness of their country, can with their sluices over-

Digitized by Google

flow all the ground about them at such distances, as to become inaccessible to any land forces. And this natural strength has been improved, especially at Amsterdam, by all the art and expence that could any ways contribute towards the defence of the place.

Next was the constitution of their government, by which, neither the States-General, nor the Prince, have any power to invade any man's person or property within the precincts of their cities. Nor could it be feared that the senate of any town should conspire to any such violence; nor, if they did, could they possibly execute it, having no soldiers in their pay, and the burghers only being employed in the defence of their towns, and execution of all civil justice among them.

These circumstances gave so great a credit to the bank of Amsterdam; and that was another invitation for people to come and lodge here what part of their money they could transport, and knew no way of securing at home. Nor did those people only lodge moneys here, who came over into the country; but many more, who never left their own, though they provided for a retreat, or against a storm, and thought no place so secure as this, nor from whence they might so easily draw their money into any parts of the world.

Another circumstance was, the general liberty and ease, not only in point of conscience, but all others that serve to the commodiousness and quiet of life; every man following his own way, minding his own business, and little inquiring into other men's; which, I suppose, happened by so great a concourse of people of several nations, different religions and customs, as left nothing strange or new; and by the general humour, bent all upon industry; whereas curiosity is only proper to idle men.

Besides, it has ever been the great principle of

Digitized by Google

their State, running through all their provinces and cities, even with emulation, to make their country the common refuge of all miserable men; from whose protection, hardly any alliances, treaties, or interests, have ever been able to divert or remove them. So as, during the great dependance this State had upon France in the time of Henry IV, all the persons disgraced at that court, or banished that country, made this their common retreat; nor could the State ever be prevailed with, by any instances of the French Ambassadors, to refuse them the use and liberty of common life and air, under the protection of their government.

This firmness in the State has been one of the circumstances that has invited so many unhappy men out of all their neighbourhood, and indeed from most parts of Europe, to shelter themselves from the blows of justice, or of fortune. Nor indeed does any country seem so proper to be made use of upon such occasions, not only in respect of safety, but as a place that holds so constant and easy correspondences with all parts of the world, and whither any man may draw whatever money he has at his disposal in any other place; where neither riches expose men to danger, nor poverty to contempt: but on the contrary, where parsimony is honourable, whether it be necessary or no; and he, that is forced by his fortune to live low, may here alone live in fashion, and upon equal terms (in appearance abroad) with the chiefest of their Ministers, and richest of their merchants: nor is it easily imagined, how great an effect this constitution among them may, in course of time, have had upon the increase both of their people and their trade.

As the two first invitations of people into this country were the strength of their towns, and nature of their government; so two others have grown with the course of time, and progress of their riches

Digitized by Google

and power. One is the reputation of their government, arising from the observation of the success of their arms, the prudence of their negotiations, the steadiness of their counsels, the constancy of their peace and quiet at home, and the consideration they hereby arrived at among the Princes and States of Christendom. From all these, men grew to a general opinion of the wisdom and conduct of their State; and of its being established upon foundations that could not be shaken by any common accidents, nor consequently in danger of any great or sudden revolutions; and this is a mighty inducement to industrious people to come and inhabit a country, who seek not only safety under laws from injustice and oppression, but likewise, under the strength and good conduct of a State, from the violence of foreign invasions, or of civil commotions.

The other is, the great beauty of their country (forced in time, and by the improvements of industry, in spite of nature) which draws every day such numbers of curious and idle persons to see their Provinces, though not to inhabit them. And indeed their country is a much better mistress than a wife, and where few persons, who are well at home, would be content to live; but where none, that have time and money to spare, would not for once be willing to travel; and as England shews, in the beauty of the country, what nature can arrive at; so does Holland, in the number, greatness, and beauty of their towns, whatever art can bring to pass. But these and many other matters of speculation among them, filling the observations of all common travellers, shall make no part of mine, whose design is rather to discover the causes of their trade and riches, than to relate the effects.

Yet it may be noted hereupon, as a piece of wisdom in any kingdom or State, by the magnificence of courts, or of public structures; by encouraging beauty in private buildings, and the adornment of

Digitized by Google

towns with pleasant and regular plantations of trees; by the celebration of some noble festivals or solemnities; by the institution of some great marts or fairs; and by the contrivance of any extraordinary and renowned spectacles, to invite and occasion, as much and as often as can be, the concourse of busy or idle people from the neighbouring or remoter nations, whose very passage and intercourse is a great increase of wealth and of trade, and a secret incentive of people to inhabit a country, where men may meet with equal advantages, and more entertainments of life, than in other places. Such were the Olympic and other games among the Græcians; such the triumphs, trophies, and secular plays of old Rome, as well as the spectacles exhibited afterwards by the Emperors, with such stupendous effects of art and expence, for courting or entertaining the people; such the Jubilees of new Rome; the justs and tournaments formerly used in most of the courts of Christendom; the festivals of the more celebrated orders of knighthood; and, in particular towns, the carnavals and fairs; the kirmishes, which run through all the cities of the Netherlands, and in some of them, with a great deal of pageantry, as well as traffic, being equal baits of pleasure and of gain.

Having thus discovered what has laid the great foundations of their trade, by the multitude of their people, which has planted and habituated industry among them, and, by that, all sorts of manufacture, as well as parsimony, and thereby general wealth: I shall enumerate, very briefly, some other circumstances, that seem, next to these, the chief advancers and encouragers of trade in their country.

Low interest, and dearness of land, are effects of the multitude of people, and cause of so much money to lie ready for all projects by which gain

Digitized by Google

may be expected, as the cutting of canals, making bridges and cawseys, levelling downs, and draining marshes, besides all new essays at foreign trade which are proposed with any probability of advantage.

The use of their banks, which secures money, and makes all payments easy, and trade quick.

The sale by registry, which was introduced here and in Flanders in the time of Charles V, and makes all purchases safe.

The severity of justice, not only against all thefts, but all cheats, and counterfeits of any public bills (which is capital among them) and even against all common beggars, who are disposed of either into work-houses, or hospitals, as they are able or unable to labour.

The convoys of merchant-fleets into all parts, even in time of peace, but especially into the Straits; which give their trade security against many unexpected accidents, and their nation credit abroad, and breeds up seamen for their ships of war.

The lowness of their customs, and easiness of paying them, which, with the freedom of their ports, invite both strangers and natives to bring commodities hither, not only as to a market, but as to a magazine, where they lodge till they are invited abroad to other and better markets.

Order and exactness in managing their trade, which brings their commodities in credit abroad. This was first introduced by severe laws and penalties, but is since grown into custom. Thus there have been above thirty several placarts about the manner of curing, pickling, and barrelling herrings. Thus all arms, made at Utrecht, are forfeited, if sold without mark, or marked without trial. And I observed in their India-house, that all the pieces of scarlet, which are sent in great

Digitized by Google

quantities to those parts, are marked with the English arms, and inscriptions in English; by which they maintain the credit gained to that commodity by our former trade to parts where it is now lost or decayed.

The government managed either by men that trade, or whose families have risen by it, or who have themselves some interest going in other men's traffic, or who are born and bred in towns, the soul and being whereof consists wholly in trade; which makes sure of all favour, that, from time to time, grows necessary, and can be given it by the government.

The custom of every town's affecting some particular commerce or staple, valuing itself thereupon, and so improving it to the greatest height: as Flushing, by that of the West-Indies; Middleburgh, of French wines; Terveer, by the Scots staple; Dort, by the English staple, and Rhenish wines; Rotterdam, by the English and Scotch trade at large, and by French wines; Leyden, by the manufacture of all sorts of stuffs, silk, hair, gold and silver; Haërlem, by linen, mixt stuffs, and flowers; Delft, by beer and Dutch porcelane; Surdam, by the built of ships; Enchuysen and Mazland-sluys, by herring-fishing; Friezland, by the Greenland trade; and Amsterdam by that of the East-Indies, Spain, and the Straits.

The great application of the whole Province to the fishing-trade upon the coasts of England and Scotland, which employs an incredible number of ships and seamen, and supplies most of the southern parts of Europe with a rich and necessary commodity.

The last I shall mention is, the mighty advance they have made towards engrossing the whole commerce of the East-Indies, by their successes against the Portuguese, and by their many wars and victo-

Digitized by Google

ries against the natives, whereby they have forced them to treaties of commerce, exclusive to all other nations, and to the admission of forts to be built upon straits and passes that command the entrances into the traffic of such places. This has been atchieved by the multitude of their people and mariners, that has been able to furnish every year so many great ships for such voyages, and to supply the loss of so many lives, as the changes of climate have cost, before they learnt the method of living in them; by the vastness of the stock that has been turned wholly to that trade; and by the conduct and application of the East-India company, who have managed it like a commonwealth, rather than a trade, and thereby raised a State in the Indies, governed indeed by the orders of the company, but otherwise appearing to those nations like a sovereign State, making war and peace with their greatest Kings, and able to bring to sea forty or fifty men of war, and thirty thousand men at land, by the modestest computations. The stock of this trade, besides what it turns to in France, Spain, Italy, the Straits, and Germany, makes them so great masters in the trade of the northern parts of Europe, as Muscovy, Poland, Pomerania, and all the Baltic; where the spices, that are an Indian drug, and European luxury, command all the commodities of those countries, which are so necessary to life, as their corn; and to navigation, as hemp, pitch, masts, planks, and iron.

Thus the trade of this country is discovered to be no effect of common contrivances, of natural dispositions or situation, or of trivial accidents; but of a great concurrence of circumstances, a long course of time, force of orders and method, which never before met in the world to such a degree, or with so prodigious a success, and perhaps never will again. Having grown (to sum up all) from

Digitized by Google

the situation of their country, extended upon the sea, divided by two such rivers as the Rhine and the Maes, with the vicinity of the Ems, Weser, and Elve; from the confluence of people out of Flanders, England, France, and Germany, invited by the strength of their towns, and by the constitutions and credit of their government; by the liberty of conscience, and security of life and goods (subjected only to constant laws); from general industry and parsimony, occasioned by the multitude of people, and smallness of country; from cheapness and easiness of carriage, by convenience of canals; from low use, and dearness of land, which turn money to trade: the institution of banks; sale by registry; care of convoys; smallness of customs; freedom of ports; order in trade; interest of persons in the government; particular traffic affected to particular places; application to the fishery; and acquisitions in the East-Indies.

It is no constant rule, That trade makes riches; for there may be a trade that impoverishes a nation: as it is not going often to market that enriches the countryman; but, on the contrary, if, every time he comes there, he buys to a greater value than he sells, he grows the poorer the oftener he goes: but the only and certain scale of riches, arising from trade in a nation, is the proportion of what is exported for the consumption of others, to what is imported for their own.

The true ground of this proportion lies in the general industry and parsimony of a people, or in the contrary of both. Industry increases the native commodity, either in the product of the soil, or the manufactures of the country, which raises the stock for exportation. Parsimony lessens the consumption of their own, as well as of foreign commodities; and not only abates the importation

Digitized by Google

by the last, but increases the exportation by the first; for, of all native commodities, the less is consumed in a country, the more is exported abroad; there being no commodity, but at one price or other, will find a market, which they will be masters of, who can afford it cheapest: such are always the most industrious and parsimonious people, who can thrive by prices upon which the lazy and expensive cannot live.

The vulgar mistake, that importation of foreign wares, if purchased abroad with native commodities, and not with money, does not make a nation poorer, is but what every man, that gives himself leisure to think, must immediately rectify, by finding out, that, upon the end of an account between a nation, and all they deal with abroad, whatever the exportation wants in value, to balance that of the importation, must of necessity be made up with ready money.

By this we find out the foundation of the riches of Holland, as of their trade by the circumstances already rehearsed. For never any country traded so much, and consumed so little: they buy infinitely, but it is to sell again, either upon improvement of the commodity, or at a better market. They are the great masters of the Indian spices, and of the Persian silks, but wear plain woollen, and feed upon their own fish and roots. Nay, they sell the finest of their own cloth to France, and buy coarse out of England for their own wear. They send abroad the best of their own butter into all parts, and buy the cheapest out of Ireland, or the north of England, for their own use. In short, they furnish infinite luxury which they never practise, and traffic in pleasures which they never taste.

The Gentlemen and officers of the army change their cloaths and their modes like their neighbours. But, among the whole body of the civil magis-

Digitized by Google

trates, the merchants, the rich traders, and citizens in general, the fashions continue still the same; and others as constant among the seamen and boors; so that men leave off their cloaths only because they are worn out, and not because they are out of fashion.

Their great foreign consumption is French wine and brandy; but that may be allowed them as the only reward they enjoy of all their pains, and as that alone which makes them rich and happy in their voluntary poverty, who would otherwise seem poor and wretched in their real wealth. Besides, what they spend in wine, they save in corn to make other drinks, which is bought from foreign parts. And, upon a pressure of their affairs, we see now, for two years together, they have denied themselves even this comfort, among all their sorrows, and made up in passive fortitude, whatever they have wanted in the active.

Thus it happens, that much going constantly out, either in commodity, or in the labour of sea-faring men, and little coming in to be consumed at home; the rest returns in coin, and fills the country to that degree, that more silver is seen in Holland, among the common hands and purses, than brass either in Spain or in France; though one be so rich in the best native commodities, and the other drain all the treasures of the West-Indies.

By all this account of their trade and riches, it will appear, that some of our maxims are not so certain, as they are current, in our common politics. As, first, that example, and encouragement of excess and luxury, if employed in the consumption of native commodities, is of advantage to trade: it may be so to that which impoverishes, but it is not to that which enriches a country; and is indeed less prejudicial, if it lie in native, than in foreign wares. But the custom or humour of lux-

Digitized by Google

ury and expence cannot stop at certain bounds; what begins in native, will proceed in foreign commodities; and, though the example arise among idle persons, yet the imitation will run into all degrees, even of those men by whose industry the nation subsists. And besides, the more of our own we spend, the less we shall have to send abroad; and so it will come to pass, that, while we drive a vast trade, yet, by buying much more than we sell, we shall come to be poor: whereas, when we drove a very small traffic abroad, yet, by selling so much more than we bought, we were very rich in proportion to our neighbours. This appeared in Edward III's time, when we maintained so mighty wars in France, and carried our victorious arms into the heart of Spain; whereas, in the 28th year of that King's reign, the value and custom of all our exported commodities amounted to 294,184*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* and that of imported, but to 38,970*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* So as there must have entered that year into the kingdom in coin, or bullion (or else have grown a debt to the nation) 255,214*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* And yet we then carried out our wools unwrought, and brought in a great part of our cloaths from Flanders.

Another common maxim is, that if, by any foreign invasion, or servitude, the State, and consequently the trade, of Holland should be ruined, the last would of course fall to our share in England. Which is no consequence; for it would certainly break into several pieces, and shift, either to us, to Flanders, to the Hans Towns, or any other parts, according as the most of those circumstances should any where concur to invite it (and the likest to such) as appear to have formerly drawn it into Holland, by so mighty a confluence of people, and so general a vein of industry and parsimony among them. And whoever pretends to

Digitized by Google

equal their growth in trade and riches, by other ways than such as are already enumerated, will prove, I doubt, either to deceive, or to be deceived.

A third is, that if that State were reduced to great extremities, so as to become a Province to some greater power, they would chuse our subjection rather than any other; or those, at least, that are the maritime, and the richest of the Provinces. But it will be more reasonably concluded, from all the former discourses, that, though they may be divided by absolute conquests, they will never divide themselves by consent, but all fall one way, and, by common agreement, make the best terms they can for their country, as a Province, if not as a State: and, before they come to such an extremity, they will first seek to be admitted, as a Belgic circle, in the Empire (which they were of old) and thereby receive the protection of that mighty body, which (as far as great and smaller things may be compared) seems the likest their own State in its main constitutions, but especially in the freedom or sovereignty of the imperial cities. And this I have often heard their Ministers speak of, as their last refuge, in case of being threatened by too strong and fatal a conjuncture.

And, if this should happen, the trade of the Provinces would rather be preserved or increased, than any way broken or destroyed, by such an alteration of their State, because the liberties of the country would continue what they are, and the security would be greater than now it is.

The last I will mention is of another vein: That if the Prince of Orange were made Sovereign of their country, though by foreign arms, he would be a great Prince, because this now appears to be so great a State. Whereas, on the contrary, those Provinces would soon become a very mean country. For such a power must be maintained by force, as

Digitized by Google

it would be acquired, and as indeed all absolute dominion must be in those Provinces. This would raise general discontents; and those perpetual seditions among the towns, which would change the orders of the country, endanger the property of private men, and shake the credit and safety of the government: whenever this should happen, the people would scatter, industry would faint, banks would dissolve, and trade would decay to such a degree, as probably, in course of time, the very digues would be no longer maintained by the defences of a weak people, against so furious an invader; but the sea would break in upon their land, and leave their chiefest cities to be fisher towns as they were of old.

Without any such great revolutions, I am of opinion, that trade has, for some years ago, past its meridian, and begun sensibly to decay among them: whereof there seem to be several causes; as, first, the general application, that so many other nations have made to it, within these two or three and twenty years. For since the peace of Munster, which restored the quiet of Christendom in 1648, not only Sweden and Denmark, but France and England, have more particularly, than ever before, busied the thoughts and councils of their several governments, as well as the humours of their people, about the matters of trade.

Nor has this happened without good degrees of success; though kingdoms of such extent, that have other and nobler foundations of greatness, cannot raise trade to such a pitch, as this little State, which had no other to build upon; no more than a man, who has a fair and plentiful estate, can fall to labour and industry, like one that has nothing else to trust to for the support of his life. But, however, all these nations have come, of late, to share largely with them; and there seem to be

Digitized by Google

grown too many traders for trade in the world, so as they can hardly live one by another. As in a great populous village, the first grocer, or mercer, that sets up among them, grows presently rich, having all the custom; until another, encouraged by his success, comes to set up by him, and share in his gains; at length so many fall to the trade, that nothing is got by it; and some must give over, or all must break.

Not many ages past, Venice and Florence possessed all the trade of Europe; the last by their manufactures; but the first by their shipping: and the whole trade of Persia and the Indies, whose commodities were brought (those by land, and these by the Arabian sea) to Egypt, from whence they were fetched by the Venetian fleets, and dispersed into most of the parts of Europe: and in those times we find the whole trade of England was driven by Venetians, Florentines, and Lombards. The Easterlings, who were the inhabitants of the Hans Towns, as Dantzick, Lubeck, Hamburgh, and others upon that coast, fell next into trade, and managed all that of these northern parts for many years, and brought it first down to Bruges, and from thence to Antwerp. The first navigations of the Portuguese to the East-Indies broke the greatness of the Venetian trade and drew it to Lisbon: and the revolt of the Netherlands, that of Antwerp to Holland. But, in all this time, the other and greater nations of Europe concerned themselves little in it; their trade was war; their counsels and enterprises were busied in the quarrels of the Holy Land, or in those between the Popes and Emperors (both of the same forge, engaging all Christian Princes, and ending in the greatness of the Ecclesiastical State throughout Christendom:) sometimes, in the mighty wars between England and France, between France and Spain:

Digitized by Google

the more general between Christians and Turks; or more particular quarrels, between lesser and neighbouring Princes. In short, the kingdoms and principalities were in the world, like the Noblemen and Gentlemen in a country; the free states and cities, like the merchants and traders: these at first despised by the others; the others served and revered by them; until, by the various course of events in the world, some of these came to grow rich and powerful by industry and parsimony; and some of the others, poor by war and by luxury: which made the traders begin to take upon them, and carry it like Gentlemen; and the Gentlemen begin to take a fancy of falling to trade. By this short account it will appear no wonder, either that particular places grew so rich and so mighty, while they alone enjoyed almost the general trade of the world; nor why not only the trade in Holland, but the advantage of it in general, should seem to be lessened by so many that share it.

Another cause of its decay in that State may be, that, by the mighty progress of their East-India company, the commodities of that country are grown more than these parts of the world can take off; and, consequently, the rates of them must needs be lessened, while the charge is increased by the great wars, the armies, and forts, necessary to maintain, or extend, the acquisitions of that company in the Indies. For, instead of five or six East-India ships, which used to make the fleet of the year, they are now risen to eighteen or twenty (I think two and twenty came in one year to the United Provinces.) This is the reason why the particular persons in that company in Holland make not so great advantage of the same stock, as those of ours do in England; though their company be very much richer, and drives a far greater

Digitized by Google

trade than ours, which is exhausted by no charge of armies, or forts, or ships of war; and this is the reason, that the Dutch are forced to keep so long and so much of those commodities in their magazines here, and to bring them out, only as the markets call for them, or are able to take off; and why they bring so much less from the Indies than they were able to do, if there were vent enough here: I remember, one of their seamen, newly landed out of their East-India fleet, in the year 69, upon discourse in a boat between Delf and Leyden, said, he had seen, before he came away, three heaps of nutmegs burnt at a time, each of which was more than a small church could hold, which he pointed at in a village that was in sight.

Another cause may be the great cheapness of corn, which has been for these dozen years, or more, general in all these parts of Europe, and which has a very great influence upon the trade of Holland. For a great vent of Indian commodities (at least the spices, which are the gross of them) used to be made into the northern parts of Europe, in exchange for corn, while it was taken off at good rates by the markets of Flanders, England, France, Spain, or Italy; in all which countries it has of late years gone so low, as to discourage the import of so great quantities, as used to come from Poland and Prussia, and other parts of the north. Now the less value those nations receive for corn, the less they are able to give for spice; which is a great loss to the Dutch on both sides, lessening the vent of their Indian ware in the Northern, and the traffic of corn in the Southern parts. The cause of this great cheapness of corn seems to be, not so much a cause of plentiful and seasonable years, as the general peace that has been in Europe since the year 59, or 60; by which so many men and so much land have been turned to

Digitized by Google

husbandry, that were before employed in the wars, or lay wasted by them in all the frontier provinces of France and Spain, as well as throughout Germany, before the peace of Munster; and in England during the actions or consequences of a civil war: and plenty grows not to a height, but by the succession of several peaceful as well as seasonable years.

The last cause I will mention is the mighty enlargement of the city of Amsterdam, by that which is called the New Town; the extent whereof is so spacious, and the buildings of so much greater beauty and cost than the old, that it must have employed a vast proportion of that stock which in this city was before wholly turned to trade. Besides there seems to have been growing on, for these later years, a greater vie of luxury and expence among many of the merchants of that town, than was ever formerly known: which was observed and complained of, as well as the enlargement of their city, by some of the wisest of their Ministers, while I resided among them, who designed some regulations by sumptuary laws: as knowing the very foundations of their trade would soon be undermined, if the habitual industry, parsimony, and simplicity of their people came to be over-run by luxury, idleness, and excess. However it happened, I found it agreed by all the most diligent and circumspect enquiries I could make, that, in the years 69 and 70, there was hardly any foreign trade among them, besides that of the Indies, by which the traders made the returns of their money without loss; and none, by which the common gain was above two or three in the hundred. So, as it seems to be with trade, as with the sea (its element) that has a certain pitch above which it never rises in the highest tides, and begins to ebb, as soon as ever it ceases to flow; and ever loses

Digitized by Google

ground in one place, proportionable to what it gains in another.

CHAPTER VII.

Of their Forces and Revenues.

THE strength and forces of a kingdom, or state, were measured, in former ages, by the numbers of native and warlike subjects which they could draw into the field, upon any war with their neighbours. National quarrels were decided by national armies, not by stipendiary forces (raised with money, or maintained by constant pay.) In the several kingdoms and principalities of Europe, the bodies of their armies were composed, as they are still in Poland, of the Nobility and Gentry, who were bound to attend their Princes to the wars, with certain numbers of armed men, according to the tenure and extent of the several lordships and lands they held of the crown: where these were not proportionable to the occasion, the rest were made up of subjects drawn together by love of their Prince or their country, by desire of conquests and spoils, or necessity of defence; held together by allegiance or religion; and spirited by honour, revenge, or avarice (not of what they could get from their leaders, but from their enemies.) A battle or two, fairly fought, decided a war; and a war ended the quarrel of an age, and either lost or gained the cause or country contended for: till the change of times and accidents brought it to a new decision; till the virtues and vices of Princes made them stronger or weaker, either in the love and obedience of their people, or in such orders and customs as rendered their subjects more or less warlike or effeminate. Standing forces, or guards in constant pay, were

Digitized by Google

no where used by lawful Princes in their native or hereditary counties, but only by conquerors in subdued provinces, or usurpers at home; and were a defence only against subjects, not against enemies.

These orders seem first to have been changed in Europe by the two States of Venice and Holland: both of them small in territories at land, and those extended in frontier upon powerful neighbours; both of them weak in number of native subjects, and those less warlike at land, by turning so much to traffic, and to sea: but both of them mighty in riches and trade; which made them endeavour to balance their neighbours strength in native subjects by foreign stipendiary bands; and to defend their frontiers by the arts of fortification, and strength of places, which might draw out a war into length by sieges, when they durst not venture it upon a battle; and so make it many times determined by force of money, rather than of arms. This forced those Princes, who frontiered upon the States, to these same provisions; which have been increased by the perpetual course of wars, upon the continent of Europe, ever since the rise of this State, until the peace of the Pyrenees, between Princes bordering one upon the other; and so, ready for sudden inroads or invasions.

The force therefore of these Provinces is to be measured, not by the number or dispositions of their subjects, but by the strength of their shipping, and standing-troops, which they constantly maintain, even in time of peace; and by the numbers of both, which they have been able to draw into the field, and to sea, for support of a war; by their constant revenue to maintain the first; and by the temporary charge they have been able to furnish for supply of the other.

I will not enumerate their frontier towns (which

Digitized by Google

is a common theme) or the forces necessary for the garrisons of them; nor the nature and variety of their taxes and impositions, though I have an exact list of them by me, expressing the several kinds, rates, and proportions, upon every Province and town: but this would swell a discourse with a great deal of tedious matter, and to little purpose. I shall therefore be content only to observe, what I have informed myself of their forces and revenues in general, from persons among them the best able to give that account.

The ordinary revenue of this State consists, either in what is levied in the conquered towns, and country of Brabant, Flanders, or the Rhine; which is wholly administered by the Council of State: or else the ordinary funds which the Seven Provinces provide every year, according to their several proportions, upon the petition of the council of State, and computation of the charge of the ensuing year, given in by them to the States-General. And this revenue commonly amounts to about one and twenty millions of guilders a-year; every million making about ninety thousand pounds Sterling, intrinsic value.

The chief funds, out of which this rises, are, the excise and the customs: the first is great, and so general, that I have heard it observed at Amsterdam, that, when, in a tavern, a certain dish of fish eaten with the usual sauce, above thirty several excises are paid for what is necessary to that small service. The last are low and easy, and applied particularly to the Admiralty.

Out of this revenue is supplied the charge of the whole milice, of all public officers of the State, and Ambassadors, or Ministers abroad, and the interest of about thirteen millions owing by the States-General.

The standing-forces in the year 1670, upon so

Digitized by Google

general a peace, and after all reformations, were twenty-six thousand two hundred men, in ten regiments of horse consisting of fifty troops; and nineteen of foot, consisting of three hundred and eighty companies. The constant charge of these forces stood them in six millions one hundred and nineteen thousand guilders a year.

The Admiralties, in time of peace, maintain between thirty and forty men of war, employed in the several convoys of their merchants fleets, in a squadron of eight or ten ships, to attend the Algerines and other Corsairs in the Mediterranean; and some always lying ready in their havens for any sudden accidents or occasions of the State. The common expence of the Admiralties in this equipage, and the built of ships, is about six millions a-year.

Besides the debt of the Generality, the Province of Holland owes about sixty-five millions, for which they pay interest at four in the hundred; but with so great ease and exactness, both in principal and interest, that no man ever demands it twice; they might take up whatever money they desired. Whoever is admitted to bring in his money, takes it for a great deal of favour; and, when they pay off any part of the principal, those it belongs to receive it with tears, not knowing how to dispose of it *to* interest with such safety and ease. And the common revenue of particular men lies much in the cantores, either of the Generality, or the several Provinces, which are the registries of these public debts.

Of the several imposts and excises, those that are upon certain and immoveable possessions (as houses and lands) are collected by the Magistrates of the several places, and by them paid in to the receivers, because both the number and value of them are constant and easily known. Those, which

Digitized by Google

arise out of uncertain consumptions, are all set out to farm, and to him that bids most, some every three months, some every six, and some yearly.

The collection, receipt, and distribution of all public monies are made without any fee to officers, who receive certain constant salaries from the State, which they dare not increase by any private practices, or extortions: so, whoever has a bill of any public debt, has so much ready money in his coffers, being paid certainly at call, without charge or trouble; and assigned over in any payment, like the best bill of exchange.

The extraordinary revenue is, when upon some great occasions, or wars, the Generality agrees to any extraordinary contributions: as sometimes the hundredth penny of the estates of all the inhabitants; poll, or chimney-money; or any other subsidies, and payments, according as they can agree, and the occasions require; which have sometimes reached so far, as even to an imposition upon every man that travels in the common ways of their country, by boat, or in a coach; in waggon, or on horseback.

By all these means, in the first year of the English war, 1665, there were raised in the Provinces forty millions, of which twenty-two in the Province of Holland. And, upon the Bishop of Munster's invading them at the same time by land, they had, in the year 66, above threescore thousand land-men in pay; and a fleet of above an hundred men of war at sea.

The greatness of this nation, at that time, seems justly to have raised the glory of ours; which, during the years 65 and 66, maintained a war, not only against this powerful State, but against the crowns of France and Denmark, in conjunction with them: and all, at a time, when this kingdom was forced to struggle at home with the calamitous

Digitized by Google

effects of a raging plague, that, in three months of the first year, swept away incredible numbers of people; and of a prodigious fire, that, in three days of the second, laid in ashes that ancient and famous city of LONDON (the heart and center of our commerce and riches) consuming the greatest part of its buildings, and an immense proportion of its wealth. Yet, in the midst of these fatal accidents, those two summers were renowned with three battles of the mightiest fleets that ever met upon the ocean; whereof two were determined by entire and unquestioned victories, and pursuit of our enemies into their very havens. The third having begun, by the unfortunate division of our fleet, with the odds of ninety of their ships against fifty of ours; and, in spite of such disadvantages, having continued, or been renewed, for three days together (wherein we were every morning the aggressors) ended at last by the equal and mutual weakness and weariness of both sides, the maims of ships and tackling, with want of powder and ammunition: having left undecided the greatest action that will perhaps appear upon record of any story. And in this battle, Monsieur de Witt confessed to me, That we gained more honour to our nation, and to the invincible courage of our seamen, than by the other two victories: that he was sure their men could never have been brought on the two following days, after the disadvantages of the first; and he believed no other nation was capable of it but ours.

I will not judge how we came to fail of a glorious peace in the six months next succeeding, after the fortune of our last victory, and with the honour of the war: but as any rough hand can break a bone, whereas much art and care are required to set it again, and restore it to its first strength and proportion; so it is an easy part in a Minister of

Digitized by Google

State to engage a war, but it is given to few to know the times, and find the ways of making peace. Yet when, after the sensible events of an unfortunate negligence, an indifferent treaty was concluded at Breda, in 1667, within six months following, by an alliance with this State in January 1668, (which was received with incredible joy and applause among them) his Majesty became the unquestioned arbiter of all the affairs of Christendom; made a peace between the two great crowns, at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was avowed by all the world to be perfectly his own, and was received with equal applause of Christian princes abroad, and of his subjects at home; and for three years succeeding, by the unshaken alliance and dependence of the United States, his Majesty remained absolute master of the peace of Christendom, and in a posture of giving bounds to the greatest, as well as protection to the weakest, of his neighbours.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Causes of their Fall in 1672.

It must be avowed, that as this State, in the course and progress of its greatness for so many years past, has shined like a comet; so, in the revolutions of this last summer, it seemed to fall like a meteor, and has equally amazed the world by the one and the other. When we consider such a power and wealth, as was related in the last chapter, to have fallen in a manner prostrate within the space of one month; so many frontier towns, renowned in the sieges and actions of the Spanish wars, entered like open villages by the French troops, without defence, or almost denial; most of them without any blows at all, and all of them with so few; their

Digitized by Google

great rivers, that were esteemed an invincible security to the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, passed with as much ease, and as small resistances, as little fords; and, in short, the very hearts of a nation, so valiant of old against Rome, so obstinate against Spain, now subdued, and, in a manner, abandoning all before their danger appeared: we may justly have our recourse to the secret and fixed periods of all human greatness, for the account of such a revolution; or rather to the unsearchable decrees and irresistable force of divine providence; though it seems not more impious to question it, than to measure it by our scale; or reduce the issues and motions of that eternal will and power to a conformity with what is esteemed just, or wise, or good, by the usual consent, or the narrow comprehension of poor mortal men.

But as, in the search and consideration even of things natural and common, our talent, I fear, is to talk rather than to know; so we may be allowed to enquire and reason upon all things, while we do not pretend to certainty, or call that undeniable truth, which is every day denied by ten thousand; nor those opinions unreasonable, which we know to be held by such as we allow to be reasonable men. I shall therefore set down such circumstances, as to me seem most evidently to have conspired in this revolution; leaving the causes less discernible to the search of more discerning persons.

And, first, I take their vast trade, which was an occasion of their greatness, to have been one likewise of their fall, by having wholly diverted the genius of their native subjects, and inhabitants, from arms, to traffic and the arts of peace; leaving the whole fortune of their later wars to be managed by foreign and mercenary troops; which much abased the courage of their nation (as was

Digitized by Google

observed in another chapter) and made the burghers of so little moment towards the defence of their towns; whereas in the famous sieges of Haerlem, Alcmer, and Leyden, they had made such brave and fierce defences, as broke the heart of the Spanish armies, and the fortune of their affairs.

Next was the peace of Munster, which had left them now, for above twenty years, too secure of all invasions, or enemies at land; and so turned their whole application to the strength of their forces at sea; which have been since exercised with two English wars in that time, and enlivened with the small yearly expeditions into the Straits against the Algerines, and other Corsairs of the Mediterranean.

Another was, their too great parsimony, in reforming so many of their best foreign officers and troops, upon the peace of Munster; whose valour and conduct had been so great occasions of inducing Spain to the counsels and conclusions of that treaty.

But the greatest of all others, that concurred to weaken, and indeed break, the strength of their land milice, was the alteration of their State, which happened by the Perpetual Edict of Holland and West-Friezland, upon the death of the last Prince of Orange, for exclusion of the power of Stadtholder in their Province, or at least the separation of it from the charge of Captain-General. Since that time, the main design and application of those Provinces has been, to work out, by degrees, all the old officers, both native and foreign, who had been formerly sworn to the Prince of Orange, and were still thought affectionate to the interest of that family; and to fill the commands of their army with the sons or kinsmen of their burgomasters, or other officers or deputies in the State, whom they esteemed sure to the constitutions of their popular

Digitized by Google

government, and good enough for an age where they saw no appearance of enemy at land to attack them.

But the humour of kindness to the young Prince, both in the people and army, was not to be dissolved, or dispersed, by any medicines, or operations, either of rigour or artifice; but grew up insensibly with the age of the Prince, ever presaging some revolution in the State when he should come to the years of aspiring, and managing the general affections of the people; being a Prince who joined to the great qualities of his Royal blood the popular virtues of his country; silent and thoughtful; given to hear, and to enquire; of a sound and steady understanding; much firmness in what he once resolves, or once denies; great industry and application to his business, little to his pleasures; piety in the religion of his country, but with charity to others; temperance unusual to his youth, and to the climate; frugal in the common management of his fortune, and yet magnificent upon occasion; of great spirit and heart, aspiring to the glory of military actions, with strong ambition to grow great, but rather by the service, than by the servitude, of his country; in short, a Prince of many virtues, without any appearing mixture of vice.

In the English war, begun the year 1665, the States disbanded all the English troops that were then left in their service, dispersing the officers and soldiers of our nation, who staid with them, into other companies, or regiments of their own. After the French invasion of Flanders, and the strict alliance between England and Holland in 1668, they did the same by all the French that were remaining in their service: so as the several bodies of these two nations, which had ever the greatest part in the honour and fortune of their wars, were now

Digitized by Google

wholly dissolved, and their standing milice composed, in a manner, all of their own natives, enervated by the long uses and arts of traffic, and of peace.

But they were too great a match for any of the smaller Princes their neighbours in Germany; and too secure of any danger from Spain, by the knowledge of their forces, as well as dispositions; and being strictly allied both with England and Sweden, in two several defensive leagues, and in one common triple alliance, they could not foresee any danger from France, who, they thought, would never have the courage, or force, to enter the lists with so mighty confederates; and who were sure of a conjunction, whenever they pleased, both with the Emperor and Spain.

Besides, they knew that France could not attack them, without passing through Flanders or Germany: they were sure Spain would not suffer it through the first, if they were backed in opposing it, as foreseeing the inevitable loss of Flanders, upon that of Holland: and they could hardly believe, the passage should be yielded by a German Prince, contrary to the express will and intentions of the Emperor, as well as the common interests of the empire: so that they hoped the war would, at least, open in their neighbours provinces, for whose defence they resolved to employ the whole force of their State; and would have made a mighty resistance, if the quarrel had begun at any other doors, but their own.

They could not imagine a conjunction between England and France, for the ruin of their State; for, being unacquainted with our constitutions, they did not foresee, how we should find our interest in it, and measured all States by that which they esteemed to be their interest. Nor could they believe, that other Princes and States

Digitized by Google

of Europe would suffer such an addition to be made to the power of France, as a conquest of Holland.

Besides these public considerations, there were others particular to the factions among them: and some of their Ministers were neither forward nor supple enough to endeavour the early breaking, or diverting, such conjunctures as threatened them; because they were not without hopes, they might end in renewing their broken measures with France; which those of the commonwealth-party were more inclined to, by foreseeing the influence that their alliances with England must needs have in time, towards the restoring of the Prince of Orange's authority: and they thought at the worst, that whenever a pinch came, they could not fail of a safe bargain, in one market or other, having so vast a treasure ready to employ upon any good occasion.

These considerations made them commit three fatal oversights in their foreign negotiations: for they made an alliance with England, without engaging a confidence and friendship: they broke their measures with France, without closing new ones with Spain: and they reckoned upon the assistances of Sweden, and their neighbour Princes of Germany, without making them sure by subsidiary advances, before a war began.

Lastly, the Prince of Orange was approaching the two and twentieth year of his age, which the States of Holland had, since their alliance with his majesty in 1668, ever pretended should be the time of advancing him to the charge of Captain-General and Admiral of their forces, though without that of Stadtholder. But the nearer they drew to this period, which was like to make a new figure in their government, the more desirous some of their Ministers seemed, either to decline, or to restrain it. On the other side, the Prince grew confident

Digitized by Google

upon the former promises, or, at least, intimations, of Holland, and the concurring dispositions of the other six Provinces to his advancement: and his party, spirited by their hopes, and the great qualities of this young Prince (now grown ripe for action, and for enterprise) resolved to bring this point to a sudden decision; against which, the other party prepared, and united all their defences; so as this strong disease, that had been so long working in the very bowels of the State, seemed just upon its crisis; when a conjunction of two mighty Kings brought upon them a sudden and furious invasion by land and sea, at the same time, by a royal fleet of above fourscore ships, and an army of as many thousand men.

When the States saw this cloud ready to break upon them (after a long belief, that it would blow over) they began, not only to provide shelter at home with their usual vigour, but to look out for it abroad (though both too late). Of the Princes that were their allies, or concerned in their danger, such as were far off could not be in time; the nearer were unwilling to share in a danger they were not enough prepared for; most were content to see the pride of this State humbled; some the injuries they had received from them revenged; many would have them mortified, that would not have them destroyed; and so all resolved to leave them to weather the storm, as they could, for one campaign; which, they did not believe, could go far towards their ruin, considering the greatness of their riches, number of their forces, and strength of their places.

The State, in the mean time, had increased their troops to seventy thousand men, and had begun to repair the fortifications of their frontier towns: but so great a length of their country lay open to the French invasion, by the territories of Cologn and

Digitized by Google

Liege, and to the Bishop of Munster (their inveterate enemy) by Westphalia, that they knew not where to expect or provide against the first danger: and, while they divided their forces and endeavours towards the securing of so many garrisons, they provided for none to any purpose but Maestricht; which the French left behind them, and fell in upon the towns of the Rhine, and the heart of their Provinces.

Besides, those Ministers, who had still the direction of affairs, bent their chief application to the strength and order of their fleet, rather than of their army: whether more picqued at England than France, upon the war and manner of entering into it; or believing that a victory at sea would be the way to a peace with this crown: or, hoping their towns would not fall so fast, but that, before three or four were lost, the business at sea would be decided: or, perhaps, content that some ill successes should attend the Prince of Orange at his first entrance upon the command of their armies, and thereby contribute to their designs of restraining the authority, while they were forced to leave him the name, of Captain-General. This, indeed, was not likely to fail, considering the ill constitution of their old army, the hasty levies of their new, and the height of the factions now broken out in the State; which left both the towns and the troops in suspense, under whose banners they fought, and by whose orders they were to be governed, the Prince's or the State's.

There happened, at the same time, an accident unusual to their climate, which was a mighty drought in the beginning of the summer, that left their waters fordable in places where they used to be navigable for boats of greatest burden. And this gave them more trouble and distraction in the defence, as their enemies more facility in the passage,

Digitized by Google

of those great rivers, which were esteemed no small security of their country.

And in this posture were the affairs of this commonwealth, when the war broke out, with those fatal events that must needs attend any kingdom, or state, where the violence of a foreign invasion happens to meet with the distracted estate of a domestic sedition or discontent, which, like ill humours in a body, make any small wound dangerous, and a great one mortal. They were still a great body, but without their usual soul; they were a State, but it was of the disunited Provinces. Their towns were without order; their burghers without obedience; their soldiers without discipline; and all without heart: whereas, in all sieges, the hearts of men defend the walls, and not walls the men: and, indeed, it was the name of England joining in the war against them, that broke their hearts, and contributed more to the loss of so many towns, and so much country, than the armies of Munster, or France. So that, upon all circumstances considered, it seems easier to give an account, what it was that lost them so much, than what saved them the rest.

No man at play sees a very great game, either in his own or in another's hand, unexpectedly lost, but he is apt to consider, whether it could have been saved, and how it ought to have been played. The same enquiry will be natural upon the fall of this State, and very difficult to resolve.

After the mighty growth of the French, and decay of the Spanish power, which drew on the invasion of Flanders in 1667, this State had a very hard game to play; either they must see Flanders wholly lost, and France grown to confine upon them (whom they liked as an ally, but dreaded as a neighbour); or else they must join with France to divide Flanders between them: but they knew

Digitized by Google

what it was to share with the lion: or they must join with Spain to defend Flanders against France, that is, with their old enemy, against their old friend: or, lastly, they must join with England for the defence of Flanders; neither breaking with France, nor closing with Spain; and frame an arbitrage, but something of a rough nature; rather prescribing than mediating a peace, and threatening a war upon that crown that refused it.

They chose the last, and wisely, as all men thought: but, though this alliance was happily planted, yet it was unhappily cultivated, and so the fruit came to fall, and the root to wither upon the first change of seasons, in such a manner, and to such a degree, as we have lately seen. Whether they could have prevented a conjunction of England with France, shall be no part of my subject; for I pretend not to know, or to tell, secrets of State; and intend these, not for the observations of an ambassador, but of a private man as I am, and such as any Gentleman might easily have made, who had resided above two years, as I did, in Holland; and had been, as I was, a little inclined to observe. I shall only say, that the conjunction of England with France was to this State, like one of those diseases which, the physicians say, are hard to discern, while they are easy to cure; but, when once they come to be plainly discovered, they are past remedy.

But, as Holland had ever defended itself against Spain, by England and France; so it ought to have done against France, by England and Spain, and provided early against their own danger, as well as that of Flanders, by improving and advancing their confederate league with England and Sweden, into a strict defensive alliance with Spain, as a principal in the league; and by agreeing with that crown to furnish between them some constant sub-

Digitized by Google

sidiary payments to Sweden, for the support of their standing forces, even in time of peace. This was the desire of Spain, the interest of all that meant to secure the peace of Christendom; and the opinion of some of the Dutch Ministers, though not of the chiefest, until it was too late: and the omission of this was the greatest fault ever committed in their politics; and proceeded in a great measure from their ancient animosity to Spain; which, as it was the beginning, so, by this effect, it almost proved the end, of their State.

When the war began in the midst of the conjunctures related, it is hard to say what could have defended them: but as men in a town, threatened with a mighty siege, abandon their suburbs, and slight those out-works which are either weak of themselves or not well defensible for want of men; and resolve only to make good those posts which they are able fully to man, and easily to relieve; because the loss of every small out-work does not only weaken the number, but sink the courage of the garrison within: so this State, which came to be in a manner besieged by the mighty and numerous armies of France and of Munster, ought, in my opinion, to have left themselves but three out-works to maintain (I mean three posts standing without the lines that inclosed the main body of their provinces) these should have been Maestricht, Wesel, and Coeverden. They should have slighted all the rest of their places that lay without these upon the Rhine, or in Overyssel; and drawn the men into these towns, so as to have left them rather like camps than garrisons; that is, eight thousand foot and two thousand horse in Maestricht, as many in Wesel, and half the number in Coeverden, if the place would contain them; if not, they might have formed and fortified a camp, with something a

Digitized by Google

greater number, upon the next pass into Friezland and Groninguen.

Of the rest of their horse (which were, I suppose, about five thousand) with at least fifteen thousand foot, they should have formed a great standing camp within their rivers, somewhere near Arnhem; fortified it with cannon, and all the art that could be; furnished it with the greatest care, and plenty of provisions. The remainder of their infantry would have been enough for the rest of their garrisons; of which the towns upon the Yssel, Doesburgh, Zutphen, Daventer, and Swoll, would have been in a manner flanked (though at some distance) by the strong garrisons of Wesel and Coeverden, and breasted by the main camp.

If, with this disposition of their forces, they had provided well for the strength and defence of Skinksconce, Nimeguen, and Grave (which would likewise have lain within all the cover of these outposts) they might, for aught I know, have expected the war, without losing the heart and steadiness of their counsels, and not without probability of making a defence worthy the former greatness and atchievements of their State.

For a siege of Maestricht or Wesel (so garrisoned and resolutely defended) might not only have amused, but endangered, the French armies; as Coeverden might have done that of Munster.

The resistance of one of these towns would have increased the strength of all the rest: for the fortune of battles and sieges turns upon the hearts of men, as they are more or less capable of general confidences or fears, which are very much raised by accidents and opinions. It would not have been within any common rules to march so far into the country, as to attack the Barse or Breda, Nimeguen or Grave, leaving such camps behind

Digitized by Google

as those at Wesel and Maestricht, and having so much a greater before them as that about Arnhem. If any of these three posts had been lost, yet it could not have happened without good conditions, and so retiring the men to strengthen either the more inward garrisons, or the main camp, which would have lain ready to defend the passes of their rivers. And if, at the worst, they had failed in this, yet the French army must, afterwards, either have attacked a fortified camp of twenty thousand men, or left such an army behind them when they marched to Utrecht, and into the heart of the provinces; both of which would have been attempts, that, I think, have hardly been enterprised with success upon any invasion.

There seems at least some appearance of order and conduct in this scheme of defence; whereas there was none in theirs: but perhaps the greatness of the tempest from abroad, and of the factions at home, either broke the heart, or distracted the course of their counsels. And, besides, such old seamen, in so strong a ship, that had weathered so many storms without loss, could not but think it hard to throw over board so much of their lading before this began. After all, I know very well, that nothing is so hard as to give wise counsel before events; and nothing so easy, as, after them, to make wise reflections. Many things seem true in reason, and prove false in experience: many, that are weakly consulted, are executed with success. Therefore, to conclude, we must all acknowledge, that wisdom and happiness dwell with God alone; and, among mortal men (both of their persons and their states) those are the wisest that commit the fewest follies, and those the happiest that meet with the fewest misfortunes.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, BART.

AND OTHER

MINISTERS OF STATE,

BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD:

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TRANSACTIONS THAT PASSED IN CHRISTENDOM FROM 1665 TO 1672.

Reviewed by Sir W. TEMPLE, some time before his Death:

And published by JONATHAN SWIFT, domestic Chaplain to his Excellency the Earl of Berkeley, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

PUBLISHER'S EPISTLE

TO

THE READER OF THE FIRST EDITION.*

THE collection of the following letters is owing to the diligence of Mr. Thomas Downton, who was one of Sir William Temple's Secretaries during the whole time wherein they bear date. And it has succeeded very fortunately for the public, that there is contained in them an account of all the chief transactions and negotiations, which passed in Christendom during the seven years wherein they are dated; as, the war with Holland, which began in 1665: the treaty between his Majesty and the Bishop of Munster, with the issue of it: the French invasion of Flanders in the year 1667: the peace concluded between Spain and Portugal, by the King's mediation: the treaty at Breda: the triple alliance; and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the first part. And in the second part, the negotiations in Holland in consequence of those alliances, with the steps and degrees by which they came to decay: the journey and death of Madame: the seizure of Lorrain, and his Ex-

* The dedication of the first edition was in these words: "To his most sacred Majesty William III. King of England, "Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. these letters of Sir William "Temple, having been left to my care, they are most humbly "presented to your Majesty by your Majesty's most dutiful and "obedient subject, Jonathan Swift."

Digitized by Google

cellency's recalling; with the first unkindness between England and Holland, upon the yacht's transporting his Lady and his family: and the beginning of the second Dutch war in 1672.

With these are intermixed several letters, familiar and pleasant.

I found the book among Sir William Temple's papers with many others, wherewith I had the opportunity of being long conversant, having passed several years in his family.

I pretend no other part, than the care that Mr. Downton's book should be correctly transcribed, and the letters placed in the order they were writ. I have also made some literal amendments, especially in the Latin, French, and Spanish; these I have taken care should be translated and printed in another column, for the use of such readers as may be unacquainted with the originals. Whatever faults there may be in the translation, I doubt, I must answer for the greater part, and must leave the rest to those friends who were pleased to assist me. I speak only of the French and Latin; for the few Spanish translations, I believe, need no apology.

It is generally believed, that this author has advanced our English tongue to as great a perfection as it can well bear: and yet, how great a master he was of it, has, I think, never appeared so much, as it will in the following letters; wherein the style appears so very different, according to the difference of the persons to whom they were addressed; either men of business, or idle; of pleasure, or serious; of great or of less parts or abilities, in their several stations. So that one may discover the characters of most of those persons he writes to, from the style of his letters.

At the end of each volume is added a collection, copied by the same hand, of several letters to

Digitized by Google

this Ambassador, from the chief persons employed, either at home or abroad, in these transactions, and during six years course of his negotiations. Among which are many from Pensionary John de Witt, and all the writings of this kind, that I know of, which remain of that Minister so renowned in his time.

It has been justly complained of, as a defect among us, that the English tongue has produced no letters of any value; to supply which, it has been the vein, of late years, to translate several out of other languages, though, I think, with little success. Yet, among many advantages which might recommend this sort of writing, it is certain, that nothing is so capable of giving a true account of story as letters are; which describe actions while they are alive and breathing: whereas all other relations are of actions past and dead. So as it hath been observed that the Epistles of Cicero to Atticus give a better account of those times, than is to be found in any other writer.

In the following letters, the reader will everywhere discover the force and spirit of this author; but that which will most value them to the public, both at home and abroad, is, first, that the matters contained in them were the ground and foundation whereon all the wars and invasions, as well as all the negotiations and treaties of peace in Christendom, have since been raised; and next, that they are written by a person who had so great a share in all those transactions and negotiations.

By residing in his family I know the author has had frequent instances from several great persons, both at home and abroad, to publish some Memoirs of those affairs and transactions which are the subject of the following papers; and particularly of the treaties of the triple alliance, and those of Aix-la-Chapelle: but his usual answer was, That

Digitized by Google

whatever Memoirs he had written of those times and negotiations were burnt; however, that perhaps after his death some papers might come out, wherein there would be some account of them; by which, he has often told me, he meant these letters.

I had begun to fit them for the press during the author's life, but never could prevail for leave to publish them; though he was pleased to be at the pains of reviewing, and to give me his directions for digesting them into order. It has since pleased God to take this great and good person to himself; and, he having done me the honour to leave and recommend to me the care of his writings, I thought I could not at present do a greater service to my country, or to the author's memory, than by making these papers public.

By way of introduction, I need only take notice, that, after the peace of the Pyrenees, and his Majesty's happy restoration in 1660, there was a general peace in Christendom (except only the remainder of a war between Spain and Portugal) until the year 1665, when that between England and Holland began, which produced a treaty between his Majesty and the Bishop of Munster. And this commences the following letters.

Digitized by Google

THE

FIRST DUTCH WAR,

BEGUN MAY 1665.

To Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls of Ireland.

Sir, Brussels, Sept. 6, 1665.

THOUGH I was forced, by the King's command, not only to leave you and my family at very short warning, and in a very melancholy season, but without so much as telling you whither I was sent; yet I would not fail making you this amends, by giving you an account of my journey and negotiations thus far, so soon as I thought it might be fit for me to do it.

When my Lord Arlington sent for me to Sheen, it was to let me know that the King had received an overture from the Bishop of Munster, to enter into an alliance with his Majesty against the Dutch, from whom he pretended many injuries; to bring an army into the field, and fall upon them by land, while his Majesty continued the war by sea: but at the same time to demand certain sums of money, that would be necessary to bring him into the field, and to continue the war: and that, if his Majesty would either treat with the Baron of Wreden (who was the Minister he sent over in the greatest privacy that could be) or send a Minister of his own to treat with him, he doubted not an easy agreement upon this matter; but desired it might be with all the secrecy imaginable. My Lord Arlington told me, the main articles were already agreed on here, and the money adjusted; but that it was necessary for the King to send over some person privately to finish the treaty at

Digitized by Google

Munster, and to see the payments made at Antwerp, where the Bishop seemed to desire them. That I must go (if I undertook it) without train or character, and pass for a Frenchman or a Spaniard in my journey; and made me the compliment to say, he had been perplexed, three or four days together, to think of a person that was not only capable of the affair and of the secret, but that was to be trusted with such a sum of money: but that when he had thought of me, and proposed me to the King and to my Lord Chancellor, they had both approved it, and I must suddenly resolve upon my answer to the proposal he made me: but whether I accepted it or no, I must keep it secret from my nearest friends.

I told him upon the place, I would serve his Majesty the best I could in it, though, being a new man, I could not promise much for myself; that there was only one point I could by no means digest, which was the business of the money, having ever been averse from charging myself with any body's but my own. This made at first some difficulty between us; but at last his Lordship was content to endeavour the engaging Alderman Backwell (who furnished it) to go over himself with it into Flanders, and there, by my order, to make the payment to the Bishop's agent; and said, he believed, at such a time of infection in London, the Alderman might easily take an occasion of such a journey.

After my instructions dispatched, I came away in haste, and with the secrecy you saw; and, without more than one day's stop at Brussels, went straight with the Baron of Wreden to Coesvelt, where the Bishop then was. I staid there but three days, was brought to him only by night, agreed all points with him, perfected and signed the treaty, and returned to Antwerp, where the

Digitized by Google

Alderman performed his part, in making the first and great payment to the Bishop's Resident there. All this has been performed on all sides with so great secrecy, that the Bishop has not only received his money, but raised his troops to about eighteen thousand men, without the least umbrage given, that I can yet hear of, to the Dutch; and, by all the assurances I receive from him, I conclude, that before this letter comes to your hands he will be in the field; though some unexpected disappointments, about a general officer he reckoned upon, has a little discomposed the measures he had taken, and may (I doubt not) a little maim the progress of them: but that will be governed by time and accidents: my business was to bring him into the field, and I have had the fortune to do it sooner than either they expected at Court, or the Bishop had promised upon our signing of the treaty.

He is a man of wit, and, which is more, of sense, of great ambition, and properly *un esprit remuant:* but the vigour of his body does not second that of his mind, being, as I guess, about six or seven and fifty years old, and pursued with the gout, which he is not like to cure by his manner of life. He was a soldier in his youth, and seems, in his naturals, rather made for the Sword than the Cross; he has a mortal hatred to the Dutch for their supporting his city of Munster against him, and is bridling those citizens by a very strong citadel he is building there. He seems bold and resolute, and like to go through with what he has undertaken, or break his head in the attempt, and says he will perform all he has engaged, *fide sincerâ et Germanicâ*, which is a word he affects. He speaks the only good Latin that I have yet met with in Germany, and more like a man of Court and business than a scholar: he says, if he fails in his en-

Digitized by Google

terprize, and should lose his country, he shall esteem his condition not at all the worse; for in that case he will go into Italy, and has money enough in the bank of Venice to buy a Cardinal's cap, which may become him better than his General's staff; though he has a mind to try this first, and make some noise in the world before he retires.

This is the best character I can give of the Bishop; and for myself I can say nothing but what you know; finding no change at all by this sally into a new scene of life and business, as well as climate: my health, I thank God, the same; my kindness so too, to my friends and to home; only my concernment for them, in this miserable time among them, much greater while I am here than when I was with them, which makes me very impatient after every post that comes in, and yet very apprehensive of every letter I open. The length of this I doubt is too much for once, and therefore shall end with the assurances of my being, Sir, your most obedient son, and humble servant, W. TEMPLE.

To Alderman Backwell.

Mr. Alderman, Brussels, Oct. 9, 1665.

I AM very much in pain to find at Monsieur Rhintorf's return, that he has made no progress in his affairs (which are ours too) during the stay he has lately made at Antwerp. But I am very much surprised to hear that I should have had any part in this delay, and that you should have told him, you had no orders from me to pay him that money. However, to take away all scruple, if any can still remain, after our last conference at Brussels upon this subject, I do by these presents order and appoint you, pursuant to those powers that have been

Digitized by Google

given me from the King, to pay or cause to be paid to Monsieur Rhintorf, or his order, all such sums of money as you shall any ways be able to raise, either by the sale of such tin as is already arrived, or shall arrive at Ostend upon his Majesty's account, with all diligence and dispatch that is possible. Or, in case you do not find any ready sale for it, that you will at least pay him all such sums as you shall be able to raise, by pawning or engaging it to the best advantage you can. After this I need say no more, than to conjure you by all the zeal you have for his Majesty's service, and all the friendship you have for me, to employ upon this occasion your utmost diligence and credit; for the conjuncture is grown so extremely pressing at this time, that I can never say enough to recommend this service to your best endeavours. I am, Sir, your servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, Oct. 13, N. S. 1665.

Upon Saturday last, about nine at night, the Bishop's agent here brought me a desire from the Marquis* to come privately to him. We staid long together, and talked much. The substance was, that he had last post writ to the Spanish Ambassador to inform the King, that he heard the French were ready to march in assistance of the Hollander against the Bishop of Munster, and had told the Spanish Ambassador in France, they should take all delays here in leave of passage for denial: that he (the Marquis) was resolved, upon confidence of his Majesty's late letter and assistance, to oppose them till he received orders from Spain, and hopes his Majesty will not fail of protecting and defend-

* Of Castel Rodrigo, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands.

Digitized by Google

ing him in this resolution: he speaks with much earnestness and passion for concluding the league between England and Spain; and either a peace or truce between Spain and Portugal; in which he very much presses his Majesty's interposition at this time; because nothing else will take away the dishonour on the Spanish side, but the respect given to so great and powerful a King's mediation. He assures me, he has given an absolute denial to the Hollanders demand of buying a great quantity of corn in these countries, which now begins to be one among their other great wants: that the French, upon jealousy of the Swede, sent very lately an Envoy into Holland, to join with them in pressing the Dane to put himself into a posture of making a diversion: that, for security of these countries, six thousand Spaniards and Italians were in a few days expected here; these by land, those by sea: and that, for raising German troops, he had last week sent five hundred thousand guilders into Germany, from whence, if they needed, he could have twenty-four thousand men, so as he doubted not to defend these countries, if France assaults him. The bias of all this discourse was to shew they had no great need of our assistance, at the same time they press so much to be assured of it; and to represent the mutual necessity of a conjunction between England and Spain, with all the expressions of affection to his Majesty's person and service, that a courtier, or almost a lover, could use. Upon this last subject I could not let him pass with the discourse of the late King's ruin, and his Majesty's danger at home for want of friendship abroad; nor could I leave that point, because he had so often harped upon it, till I forced him to confess, at least by silence, that his Majesty was as safe at home at this time, as either the French or Spanish King.

Digitized by Google

For the rest, finding him now much warmer than he used to seem in the desires of the Bishop of Munster's success, or, at least, preservation; and finding from Alderman Backwell that he had yet been able to raise no more money upon all our tin at Antwerp for the second payment, those paltry merchants combining to ruin him in the price of it, upon the belief of his necessity to sell; I would not omit that occasion of desiring the Marquis to find some person out that should take it all off our hands with ready money, which they might raise at their own leisure, and, I believed, with much gains: in which I assured him he would give his Majesty a great testimony of his affection to his service, which was so much concerned in the Bishop of Munster's fortunes. He told me, he would consult about it next morning; and upon Sunday night sent one with a dispatch of mine to Alderman Backwell, to know the whole quantity and lowest price: so that I am now in great hopes of seeing some good issue of that business, which I almost began to despair of.

An express from the Bishop of Munster came to me on Saturday last, protesting he could no longer subsist unless the money came; and your Lordship may easily imagine how much pain I am in upon that occasion; especially hearing myself so often reproached for having drawn him to so desperate an adventure, so much against his own resolutions, which were, not to take the field till the second payment were received, and the third assured on this side: it would look like vanity in me to tell your Lordship more, of what I hear too much, of this kind; but I will say, that, unless you take some speedy and effectual resolution in this particular, I shall look like the veriest rogue in the world, and such as it will not be much for his Majesty's honour to employ. But after all, I

Digitized by Google

will tell your Lordship freely, that I think all my trains had not taken fire without a perfect accident, which I had the good fortune to improve so upon the sudden, as to make it the absolute occasion of the Bishop's taking the field when he did; which I shall some time or other, I hope, entertain you with, and will serve for a moral to shew how small shadows and accidents sometimes give a rise to great actions among mankind; for either such, or the beginning of such, this bold march is like to prove. All I know of its success you will find in these letters; one from my Lord Carlingford, to whom I cannot send your Lordship's last, till I have further directions from him for my address; the other being part of one from a person in the Holland camp belonging to the Rhingrave. Twenty rumours more we have of his successes, but I will not yet credit them: this much I will, that nothing can probably endanger him besides want of money, and that I know him to be a man too firm to be diverted from his point, or slacken it without some such maim; for he wants neither prudence, courage, nor ambition. For the Hollanders, they were certainly never worse at their ease than now, being braved and beaten both at sea and land; flayed with taxes, distracted with factions, and their last resource, which is the protection of France, poisoned with extreme jealousies; yet that must be their game, or else a perfect truckling peace with England. I am ever your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Brussels, Nov. 20, N. S. 1665.

I AM to acknowledge the honour I received last, by one from your Grace of October the 25th,

Digitized by Google

which gives me the occasion to beg your belief, that the frequent troubles I give your Grace of this kind, proceed from a most hearty and uninterested duty, without the least thoughts of making any unconscionable advantage by such a commerce, or at least expecting a return of so great value, as your Lordship's letters to a venture so small as mine. I confess I am extremely pleased with any testimonies of your Grace's remembrance and favour to me; which I must esteem the best, and ever acknowledge for the first, of my good fortunes: nor shall I ever be so much pleased with any lucky hits that may happen to me in public employments from any other respect, as from the hopes of meeting some occasion to express the esteem and resentment of kindness shewed me, when I was idle and unknown. But I beseech your Grace never to give yourself the least trouble, or lose time in writing to me upon the score of common civility, but to deal with me perfectly like one of your own; and write only when you have commands to honour me, or inclinations to oblige me: for the rest, one word to my father, or brother, may at any time give me the knowledge that mine are received, which is all they pretend, and perhaps more than they deserve.

Since the passage of the French troops, which thought fit to touch no part of these dominions, we hear little of them: their number fell something short of six thousand, their horse were brave as they passed Maestricht; their foot rascally, their shoes upon their shoulders, their feet galled, and their gallantry spent in giving the Dutch a thousand times to the Devil for their kind invitation: they paid nothing as they passed, or false money; took the best treatment the Dutch could make them with scorn and insolence, and drank his Majesty's and the Prince of Munster's health openly in the

Digitized by Google

market-place at Maestricht; a strain I suppose of their extravagance, rather than good meaning. So I leave them, as they do their colours when they can, and return this way by couples and leashes good store. By the last from the Prince of Munster of the 12th instant, we had assurance that his bridge over the marsh was perfected, his army joined, and that Colonel or Baron d'Ossory (who is made a Serjeant Major de Bataglia) had with a squadron of horse killed nine hundred of the Dutch in a late encounter near Groninguen; besides this, and the French Envoy's, Monsieur Lessyn, having been dismissed with general terms, I had nothing but desperate melancholy complaints of his disappointments from his friends, which I will not trouble your Grace with at this distance.

I had my first formal audience last night from the Marquis, and was received with the greatest expressions of zeal and devotion to the King my master's person and service; of the resentment of the honour done him by this resolution of a Resident here, and wonderful compliment to the personal choice; as I believe your Grace knows, good words of all sorts cost no man less than his Excellency; but I am very confident his inclinations to us, his aversions to France, his desires of a truce with Portugal, and strict league with England, are all very hearty. I am ever your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant.

To the Baron Wreden.

Brussels,

Sir, Dec. 10, 1665.

I RECEIVED your's, and am glad of your arrival at Court, where I never doubted the good reception so honest a Gentleman would find, who came from so brave a Prince. I am sorry for your bad wine

Au Baron Wreden.

A Brusselles, le 10 *Dec.*

Monsieur, N. S. 1665.

J'ay reçu la votre, & je me rejouis de votre arrivée à la Cour; je n'ay jamais douté qu'un aussi honnête homme que vous, & qui a l'honneur d'être envoyé par un Prince aussi distingué, n'y trouvât toute sorte de bon accueil.

Digitized by Google

and lodging at Oxford; for as to the former, I know it is a sort of plague you are more afraid of than that at London, where in a little time I hope you will have no occasion to complain either of one or the other: in the mean while, take my word for the matter, it is but half a dozen glasses more, and good or bad comes all to the same thing. As for your lodging, in troth I believe the crowd is so great at present in every house, that you will hardly find an opportunity of making love to your landlady: but, Sir, you must have a little patience, and not think of succeeding in all amours at the rate you did with Madamoiselle Isabella; besides, if you remember, it cost you dear enough then, by the fright you were in of losing your great diamond. Love, like other things, is good for nothing when one makes too much haste in it; and our English ladies do not care that men should be over violent in beginning this game, for fear they should be so in concluding it.

Je prens part au mauvais giste d'Oxford, & au mechant vin que vous y avez bû. A l'egard de ce dernier, je sçay que c'est une sorte de peste que vous craignez plus que celle de Londres; & au reste, j'espere qu'avant qu'il soit peu, vous n'aurez plus sujet de vous y plaindre ni de l'un ni de l'autre. En attendant, croyez moy, il ne faut que six verres de vin de plus, il n'importe qu'il soit bon ou mauvais, & tout reviendra à la même chose. Pour le logement, je m'imagine que la foule est si grande à cette heure dans toutes les maisons, que vous ne trouvez pas les moyens de faire commodement l'amour à la fille du logis; mais, Monsieur, il faut avoir un peu de patience, & ne croire pas reüssir toujours avec autant de bonheur & de rapidité que vous fites avec Madamoiselle Isabelle: encore, devez vous vous souvenir, qu'il vous en couta alors assez cher par l'extreme peur que vous eûtes, quand vous vous apperçûtes du danger que couroit le gros diamant. L'amour, aussibien que toutes les autres choses, ne vaut plus rien dès qu'on le traite trop d la hâte; & nos filles ne veulent point qu'on soit si precipité à commencer cette sorte de jeu, de peur que la fin ne ressemble trop au commencement.

Well, I am heartily sorry I can give you no good recommendations where you are, because I am sure you would be so just and generous to pay me by a bill of exchange on your little mistress here. But now I talk of a mistress, you must know Monsieur le Chevalier

Je suis, ma foy, très marri de ne pouvoir vous adresser surement dans la ville où vous êtes; car de l'humeur dont je vous connois, je sçay que vous seriez assez généreux, & assez équitable, pour me rembourser par une lettre d'échange sur vôtre petite maitresse Brabançonne.

Digitized by Google

has ordered his affairs here worse than at Paris: for I believe seriously he passed through this place without so much as paying one visit to his; and that is the reason why he carried so much money to Munster, and rode post with greater vigour than ever he did from hence to France.

And is not this now a very fine letter for two grave Ministers of State? But come, we must talk a little of business, if it be only for the good grace of the matter: and yet I am confident, if Sir Bealing would entertain you at this rate but once a month, and unbend himself a little from his serious way, you would reckon him as your only friend, and think no more of me.

Well, but you have heard what the Dutch Resident tells us, that the Prince of Munster has taken Reyde, a small seaport, where his friends may come and give him a visit. The news from Antwerp say farther, that he has got the fort of Bourtang; but they add, how the Bishop of Osnabrug is resolved to let the world see, that a Lutheran Prelate is as good as a Catholic; and, to that end, is resolved, at the head of some Lunenbourg troops, to go knock mitres with your Master: all in good time. And as for heads, I do not doubt the Prince of Munster's is much the stronger of the two; but for the mitres I can say nothing. I am told besides, that

Mais à propos de maîtresse. Monsieur le Chevalier a plus mal fait ses affaires icy qu' à Paris; car je croy tout de bon qu'il a passé par icy sans voir seulement la sienne; mais c'est par là aussi qu'il a porté tant d'argent à Munster, & qu'il a couru la poste plus courageusement qu'il n'a fait d'icy en France.

Voici, ma foy, une belle lettre pour deux sages Ministres; tout de bon il faut un peu parler d'affaires, ne fût-ce que pour sauver les apparences: mais, avouez la verité, si le Chevalier Bealing vous entretenoit seulement une fois le mois, comme je viens de faire, & qu'en vôtre faveur il relachât un peu de ce grand serieux, n'est-il pas vray, qu'il n'y auroit plus que luy qui fût de vos amis, & que je perdrois la place que j'occupe dans vôtre souvenir.

Savez vous bien que le Resident d'Hollande avoue que le Prince de Munster a pris Reyde, un petit port de mer, où il peut être visité de ses amis; & que les avis d'Anvers nous disent, qu'il est venu à bout du fort de Bourtang. Mais on dit aussi que l'Evêque d'Osnabrug est fort piqué de la pensée qu'on peut avoir qu'un Evêque Lutherien ne vaut pas un Evêque Catholique; & qu'il est tout resolu de s'avancer à la tête de quelques troupes de Lunebourg, & d'aller heurter sa mitre contre celle de vôtre Maitre: a la bonne heure; car je ne doute pas que Monsieur le Prince n'ait la tête plus forte & plus dure; à l'egard des mitres je n'en say rien. On m'a dit aussi, que vôtre

Digitized by Google

your Chapter of Munster has somewhat embroiled your Master's affairs; if this be so, there are more *Diables de Canons* beside your self. But I believe the matter is not much; for, if it were, I know the Prince would quickly make Monsieur d'Herbe and Monsieur Majette a couple of Canons, in exchange for some of those blockheads: and for Grand Dean, I think the Governor of Pleuren, with his great belly, would make a good figure enough. Who knows but such revolutions may happen? For, to speak in your own words, *The world is as round as a*— For my own part, I had rather be one of your Master's Priests than his Soldiers; for they say here, that he rises at four o'clock, gives them [his Soldiers] his benediction, and then sends them to the D— over bogs and marshes, where no secular Captain durst ever pass.

Chapitre de Munster va un peu brouiller les affaires de vôtre Maître; si cela est, voilà ma foy des Diables de Canons, *aussi bien que vous. Mais je croy qu'il n'en est rien; car si cela étoit, le Prince ne manqueroit pas de faire bientôt deux Chanoines de Messieurs d'Herbe & de Majette, & de les échanger pour quelqu'un de ces étourdis: le Gouverneur de Pleuren ne manqueroit de pretence, si le titre de Grand Doyen étoit enté sur son gros ventre. On ne sait point si de pareils changemens ne pourroient pas bien arriver; car (selon vôtre phrase Allemande)* Roond is the werld as een—— *Pour moy, j'aimerois mieux être de ses Prêtres que de ses Soldats; car on dit icy qu'il leur donne sa benediction, & les envoye au diable, je veux dire, à travers de marais impracticables, d'où jamais Capitaine seculier n'auroit osé approcher.*

Farewel, Sir; and, when you intend to warm yourself with sack, pray remember to order your servants, instead of removing your sword, to remove your purse, and prevent you from doing (according to your custom) more good than you design, as they prevent others from doing mischief. For it is a custom in England, that whatever a man gives away over night, he hears no more of it next morning. At all hours of both I am, Sir, your most affectionate servant.

Adieu, Monsieur, & souvenez vous bien en vous échauffant des fumées du vin des Canaries, qu'on prend souvent la precaution d'ôter de devant un homme qui a bû, son epée, de peur qu'il ne fasse le mechant; mais que vos amis en doivent prendre une opposée, qui est de vous ôter vôtre argent, de peur que ne fassiez trop le généreux; car en Angleterre, ce qu'on donne le soir, ne se retrouve plus le matin: quant à moy, & le soir & le matin vous me trouverez toujours, Monsieur, votre très affectionné serviteur.

Digitized by Google

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Brussels, Dec. 12,
My Lord, N. S. 1665.

THE news of your Excellency's indisposition has very sensibly afflicted me; but God Almighty will, I doubt not, quickly restore your health, which is of too great importance to Christendom, to sink under common accidents.

I desire your pardon for the liberty I take to let you know, how Monsieur Rhintorf complains exceedingly, that he finds yet no advance in the affair you were pleased to undertake for his Master's sake, and indeed for that of the King my Master too. I desire your Excellency once more to give your hand to it; and that if those merchants will not buy the tin, you will give order at least to have it engaged for three parts of its value, so as some present remedy may be found to the Bishop's necessities, wherewith (by means of this delay) he is now pressed to the last extremities.

I take more part in this affair, having already writ to the King my Master, that you had wholly finished it in affection to his service, for which I do not doubt but you will receive his Majesty's thanks by the first courier; so that I shall be in the greatest confusion imaginable if the business fails, and his Majesty cannot chuse but think me very impertinent.

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

Brusselles, Dec. 12,
Monsieur, S. N. 1665.

La nouvelle de l'indisposition que vôtre Excellence a ressentie depuis quelque jours, m'a sensiblement touché; mais je ne doute point, que Dieu ne retablisse bientôt une santé qui est trop necessaire à la Chrétienté pour succomber sous des accidens vulgaires.

Je vous demande pardon de la liberté que je prens de vous avertir que Monsieur Rhintorf se plaint extrêmement de ce qu'il ne trouve encore rien de fait dans l'affaire qu'il vous a plu de prendre à cœur en faveur de son Maître; ainsi que sur la recommendation du Roy mon Maître: je supplie V. E. d'y mettre encore une fois la main, & de donner ordre que si on a resolu de ne point accepter cette marchandise, du moins on la prenne en gage pour les trois quarts de sa valeur; à fin de remedier sur le champ aux necessitez dont Monsieur l'Evêque se trouve pressé, qui peut-être sont rendues extremes par ce retardement.

Je me trouve d'autant plus interessé dans cette affaire, qu'ayant dejà mandé au Roy mon Maître que vous l'aviez tout-à-fait finie dans la veüe de rendre service à sa Majesté, ce qui vous sera sans doute marqué avec remerciment de sa part par le premier courier; je serois l'homme du monde le plus confus, & le plus impertinent aux yeux du Roy mon Maître, si cette affaire venoit à manquer.

Digitized by Google

By my last dispatch from Court, of the 18th instant, I am informed that the Spanish Ambassador did that evening privately deliver his new credentials to the King, to whom and his Ministers he still continued to be very acceptable; and that, upon arrival of these credentials, they began to enter in good earnest upon adjusting our common interests.

Par la derniere lettre que j'ay reçeue la Cour dattée du 18. du courant, j'ay été averti que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne avoit le soir de ce jour-là presenté au Roy ses nouvelles lettres de créance, & que sa personne étoit toujours fort agréable à lui & à ses Ministres : qu'au reste, sur l'arrivée de ces nouvelles lettres de créance on alloit commencer de fort bon cœur à ajuster nos interêts communs.

By a letter of the 15th instant, from the Prince of Munster, I am informed of the great and happy progress of his arms; but on the other side, that the Hollanders used their last endeavours to raise against him all the Protestant Princes of the Empire, under pretext that religion has part in the quarrel, as well as the interest of the house of Austria: and on both these accounts, as well as from your own generosity, your Excellency is engaged not to disappoint him in this little occasion: not to alledge the moral, which tells us, that *whatever good we can do, without damage to ourselves, we are obliged to do, even to a stranger.*

Par une lettre du Prince de Munster du 15. du courant, j'ay été averti de ses grands & heureux progrez; mais que d'un autre coté, les Hollandois faisoient tous leurs efforts pour soulever contre luy tous les Princes Protestans de l'Empire; sous le pretexte que la religion & la maison d'Autriche y étoient interessées. C'est par-là aussi bien que par vôtre generosité que vous êtes engagé à ne luy pas manquer en cette petite occasion; pour n'alleguer pas la morale qui nous dit, Quicquid sine detrimento facere potes, vel ignoto faciendum.

Upon an answer from your Excellency, I am ready to dispatch an express to Antwerp; and shall remain, My Lord, your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant.

Sur la reponse de V. E. je suis tout prêt à depecher un exprès à Anvers; & bien resolu d'être toujours, de V. E. le très humble & très obéissant serviteur.

To Sir William Coventry.

Sir, Brussels, Dec. 15, N. S. 1665.

I AM to acknowledge both the honour and obligation I received by yours of November the 9th, the

Digitized by Google

last of which seems so great in that light you give it, and by those circumstances I now see attend it, that, had it come from any other hands, I should have wished a thousand times never to have received it. For there are very few I desire much to be obliged to, having always thought that a sort of debt, which ought as duly to be paid as that of money, with more interest, and much greater difficulty of casting up. But knowing that all generous persons are apt to favour, and esteem their own, rather such whom they oblige, than such as serve them; I am extremely glad to have my name enter into the knowledge of his Royal Highness, by his bounty and favour in the grant of those passports, rather than any other way I could have taken; and beg of you, that, with my humble thanks, his Royal Highness may know I enter into his service with this advance of wages, which it shall be always my endeavour, as it is my duty, to deserve. I owe, and should say, a great deal to yourself upon this occasion, but that, with my thanks for the thing itself, I am to join my complaints for the manner of it: I mean, that you should trouble yourself to reason me out of any custom or action you would have me leave off, or say any thing upon such a subject, besides that you wish it had been otherwise; which, I desire you to believe, shall in far greater matters be, from your hand, persuasion and command enough to me. My presumptions may be great with my friends, but they are the easiliest checked of any man's alive; which is all I shall say upon this occasion as to the future: and for the past, I will only assure you, that I should not in the least have offered at what I did, had it not been at the earnest instance of the Prince of Munster's Resident here: and I am to make it my business abroad to enter as far as I can into the secrets, and, for that end,

Digitized by Google

into the affections, of such ministers as I have to deal with; and, as some men are to be gained directly by their heart, so are others by their hands. But another fault were easier to be borne than a long excuse; I will not add to it by our news, since of all I write I am sure you know as much as you please; only in general our Bishop loses not courage nor strength upon all the great preparations of enemies, or disappointment of friends. The Dutch seem to be plagued by their own god, and to grow unhappy in their own element, the sea having done them, in the last storms, most extravagant harms: some letters from Amsterdam say to the value of thirty, and others, of sixty millions: their case may grow harder yet, if the frosts do so from the Munster side. Our Court here is passionate towards the league between the two Crowns; as I am in the desires of growing in your friendship and favour, and deserving it by any testimonies I can give of my being, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.

To Dame Augustina Cary.

Madam, Brussels, Feb. 16, N. S. 1666.

I KNOW not whether the shame of having been so long in your debt be greater, than that of paying it so ill at last; but, I am sure it is much harder to be excused, and therefore shall not attempt it, but leave it to Father Placid's oratory; though, having failed in the substantial part of your business, I have little reason to hope he will succeed better in the ceremonial part of mine. The truth is, there is so great a difference in common sound between, *It is done*, and *It will be done*, that I was unwilling to acknowledge the honour of having received your Ladyship's commands, before I had compassed that of obeying them; which the Mar-

Digitized by Google

quis here hath so often assured me would suddenly fall to my share, that I thought we had both equal reason, his Excellency to do it, and I to believe it. This right I must yet do him, that I never pressed him in this concern of your Ladyship's, but he told me all my arguments were needless, for the thing should be done; and how to force a man that yields I never understood; but yet I much doubt, that, till the result be given upon the gross of this affair, which is and has been some time under view, your part in particular will hardly be thought ripe for either his justice, or favour, which will be rather the style it must run in, if it be a desire of exemption from a general rule given in the case. Whatever person (after the Father's return) shall be appointed to observe the course of this affair, and pursue the Lady's pretensions here, will be sure of all the assistance I can at any time give him; though I think it would prove a more public service to find some way of dissolving your society, and by that means dispersing so much worth about the world, than, by preserving you together, confine it to a corner, and suffer it to shine so much less, and go out so much sooner, than otherwise it would. The ill effects of your retreat appear too much in the ill success of your business; for I cannot think any thing could fail that your Ladyship would solicit; but, I presume, nothing in this lower scene is worthy either that, or so much as your desire or care, which are words that enter not your grates, to disturb that perfect quiet and indifferency which I will believe inhabit there, and by your happiness decide the long dispute, whether the greater lies in wanting nothing, or possessing much.

I cannot but tell you it was unkindly done to refresh the memory of your brother Da Cary's loss, which was not a more general one to man-

Digitized by Google

kind, than it was particular to me: but, if I can succeed in your Ladyship's service, as well as I had the honour once to do in his friendship, I shall think I have lived to good purpose here, and for hereafter shall leave it to Almighty God, with a submission as abandoned, as you can exercise in the low common concernments of this worthless life, which I can hardly imagine was intended us for so great a misery as it is here commonly made, or to betray so large a part of the world to so much greater hereafter, as is commonly believed. However, I am obliged to your Ladyship for your prayers, which I am sure are well intended me, and shall return you mine, that no ill thoughts of my faith may possess your Ladyship with an ill one of my works too, which I am sure cannot fail of being very meritorious, if ever I reach the intentions I have of expressing myself upon all occasions, Madam, your Ladyship's most humble and most obedient servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, March 1, N. S. 1666.

I NEED say nothing to bring your Lordship acquainted with Mr. Sherwood's person or errand; yet, because all men take themselves to measure best their own business, I would not disappoint his desires of this address; though, to add any thing to what I write upon all occasions, of the Prince of Munster's condition, necessities, or complaints, were, as I take it, just so much of nothing to the purpose. All I will say is, that whatever his Majesty resolves to do, ought to be sudden, and in a lump, to provide for his taking the field this spring, with heart and strength, which I believe a sum within the compass of a hundred of his Majesty's subjects would enable him to do: nothing

Digitized by Google

will ever hinder me to give your Lordship those testimonies I desire of the most hearty constant passion, wherewith I shall ever be, My Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

To the Duke of Albemarle.

My Lord, Brussels, March 1, N. S. 1666.

Upon Mr. Sherwood's passage this way into England, from the Bishop of Munster, I could not refuse him the occasion of waiting upon your Grace, who so well knows how far his Majesty's honour and interest may be concerned in the success of his errand.

Though that Prince's necessities may be grown great, as well as his complaints and the arrears of his payments, yet, I am confident, five and twenty or thirty thousand pounds in a lump, and sudden, would bring him strong and vigorous into the field this spring; which would prove a cheap advantage to his Majesty's arms, and perhaps the greatest in sight, next to your Grace's commanding this summer's fleet; from which we all here certainly reckon upon a success suitable to the rest of your fortunes and glories, which I hope to see completed upon the French fleets. Mine will be great, if your Grace pleases to esteem me, as you will ever have reason to do, My Lord, your Grace's most faithful humble servant.

To my Lord Carlingford.

My Lord, Brussels, March 6, N. S. 1666.

I have this exception to your service, that my faults are taken notice of, and not my diligence: for, in your Lordship's of the 21st past, I find not the least mention of any letters received from me, though, I am confident by other circumstances, some of

Digitized by Google

them must have been come to your hands. I fear your news at Vienna is not so good nor true as your wine; and, by the abundance of reports with shallow grounds, I doubt your Court is rather inclined to hear news than to make it. That Brandenburg is our enemy, at least for four months, is too certain: that Sweden is a friend to Munster, we may guess rather from causes, than any effects that I know of: and since neither the Emperor nor Spain will contribute any thing towards the Bishop's assistance, nor so much as the staving off enemies, that by Dutch and French are raising up against him in the Empire itself, I know no remedy. But yet, in spite of all force and artifice to disarm him, I expect, for my part, to see him rather besieged in Coesvelt or Munster, than make a peace without our Master's consent, as is hoped by our enemies, and perhaps wished by some of our friends, for fear the continuance of his music should make them dance before they have a mind to it. But I believe all their coldness and shrinking will hardly defend them, and may help them rather to lose their friends, than gain their enemies; for we have certain news that the French have made a *place d' armes* between la Fere and Peronne, where that King is coming down to the rendezvouses of fifteen thousand men: and the Hollanders, on the other side, are so incurably possessed with an opinion of some wonderful deep important league between us and Spain, that they are upon the very brink of resolving a war too, and concluding a league offensive, as well as defensive, with France; at least, if the ascendant of this year be favourable to De Witt's party as that of the last was, which begins to be a little doubted of late. I will not send your Lordship any English letters, nor our declaration of war against the French, in confidence it goes along with your pacquet; by which you will see his Majesty

Digitized by Google

hath been as generous and civil as the French King was rough in his, to call it no worse: but he hath begun the war with so much heat, that I am apt to believe he will come to be cool before it ends.

I shall ill deserve your Lordship's leave of writing often, if I do it so long, and so little to the purpose together. After I have told you my Lord Ossory is come over into England, and that my Lord Arlington is for certain (as they say both in England and here) to marry the Lady Æmilia, my Lady of Ossory's sister, I will give your Lordship the good night, almost as late as I imagine you use to go to bed, and only tell you that I am, at all hours, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble servant.

To Sir Philip Warwick.

Sir, Brussels, March 12, N. S. 1666.

THOUGH it be more easy and more usual to beg favours, than to acknowledge them, yet I find you are resolved to force me upon the last, without ever giving me time or occasion for the other. How much I am obliged to you in my last dispatch, I am told enough by Mr. Godolphin, but more by my own heart, which will never suffer me to believe, that a person to whom I have been so long, and am so much a servant, should be any other than kind to me; for that is my way of judging my absent friends, and serves, like a watch in my pocket, to measure the time, though I see no sun. The very name of time puts me in mind, that yours is not to be spent idly; and that you are more pleased to oblige your friends, than to receive their thanks: and therefore I will only say, that mine are very sensible and very hearty, and that no man is, with more reason and with more sincereness, than I am, Sir, your affectionate humble servant.

Digitized by Google

To the Bishop of Munster.

Brussels, March 12, N. S. 1666.

Sir,

YOUR Highness's letter of the 9th instant came in due time to my hands, by which I plainly find with how much faith and constancy, as well as wisdom and courage, your Highness intends to order your affairs. My utmost endeavours shall not be wanting for the advancing of them, as well as for increasing and cultivating the confidence his Majesty hath in your Highness (on which the common league chiefly relies) especially at this time, when so many ill-designing men use all endeavours to shake or destroy it, wherein it is hard to tell whether their folly or malice be greater.

I hear every day in this city, that your Highness has made peace with the Hollanders, without any regard to us or our league, or so much as consulting his Majesty upon it: and I pretend to believe what I am told, though I am inwardly assured to the contrary. As for whispers and rumours, it is not my custom either to amuse others, or perplex myself with them. I confess I was somewhat moved with a letter from the Duke of Brunswick to a man of understanding in this city, which I lately saw and read; wherein he seems to feed himself and his friend with hopes of a speedy peace in all those

Episcopo Monasterii.

Bruxellis, Martii 19. *N. S.* 1666.

Celsissime Dom.

Rectè et tempestivè admodum mihi redditæ sunt literæ Celsitudinis vestræ, 9. *Martii datæ; è quibus planè perspexi quàm inconcussâ fide, et quàm decorâ constantiâ C. V. res suas semper ornatura sit, dum easdem eximiâ prudentiâ et animo molitur interea, et gubernat. Mihi certè nihil erit unquam antiquius isto officio, quod semper præstiti et præstiturus sum tam in illis omni modo promovendis, quam in formandâ, et si opus fuerit erigendâ, sacræ suæ Regiæ Majestatis fiduciâ, quâ præcipuè niti videtur communis fœderis vinculum et robur, hoc præsertim tempore cùm multi et vafri et ventosi homines illam pedibus eant labefactatum, majore levitate nescio, an malitiâ.*

In hâc urbe pacem jam ratam iri inter C. Vm. et Hollandos, posthabitis omnino rationibus et fœderis et nostris, nedum consultâ voluntate, ego utrisque auribus quotidiè accipio; credulitatem simulo, toto autem pectore inficias eo. Rumoribus certè et susurris nec mihi alios pascere assuetum, nec meipsum exercuisse; commotum me paulò fateor literis Ducis Brunswicensis viro sagaci in hâc urbe transmissis, quas ipse nuperrimè vidi, legique diligentiùs, in quibus, et sese et amicum multâ spe lactare videtur pacis in universis istis Germaniæ partibus brevitèr restituendæ; sibique pro comperto constare asserit, principem Mo-

Digitized by Google

parts of Germany, and assures him, from his certain knowledge, that the Prince of Munster will accept it in case it be offered to him without the greatest ignominy and loss; wherein he says the neighbouring Princes use all means to engage him.

I am sorry to find the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo of the same opinion; because I know the event must be dishonourable to your Highness, and will be imputed to the King my Master, perhaps as imprudence, at least, as ill fortune. Nor do I think the Spaniards, at this time of day, so generous as to promote the league (which we hope to see confirmed by my Lord Sandwich's embassy into Spain) if they once imagine, though but falsely, that his Majesty, among such potent enemies, is forsaken by his nearest confederates.

On the contrary, I am entirely persuaded, as well from your Highness's last letter, as from your virtue and good sense, that you have too great a regard for your faith and honour, to darken the lustre of so fair a life, by so foul a stain. This I do not fail continually to inform both his Majesty and his Ministers; nor do I doubt, but if fortune shall be wanting to the justice of your arms, so far as that your Highness shall be in danger of being brought to the last extremities, you will at least have that regard to so sacred a league, and to the honour of so great a King, as to give his Majesty timely notice; declare the invincible necessities you lay under, and desire

nasterii eam libentissimè acceptarum, modò sine summâ ignominiâ et damno eam oblatam iri contingat; in quo vicinos ait Principes oleum et operam summo jam studio impendere.

Marchionem de Castel Rodrigo eandem imbibisse planè opinionem et sentio et doleo; quippe ejusmodi eventum et C. V. vitio verti necesse est, et Regi Domino meo, imprudentiæ forsan, aut saltem infœlicitati. Nec Hispanos usque adeo jam temporis generosos æstimo, ut provehendo fœderi (quod jam arctiùs astrictum iri speramus nuperrimâ Comitis de Sandwich in Hispaniam legatione) fortiùs impellant remos si Regem Dominum meum inter tantos hostes ab intimo fœderato desertum iri, sibi vel falsò persuaserint.

Ego interea tam ex postremis literis, quàm ex ingenti C. V. indole et genio, moribus etiam et studiis, mihi è contra procul omni aleâ persuasum habeo, eam virtuti, fidei, et gloriæ nimis fœliciter litâsse, quam ut tot decora tam insignis vitæ tantâ labe infuscari ullo modo patiatur. Hoc sacræ suæ Regiæ Majestati, hoc Ministris regiis inculcare non desino; nec ullus dubito, si tam justis armis fortuna in tantum defuerit, ut inter tot hostes C. V. in extremis se laboraturam præsentiat; quin hoc saltem tanto fœderi, hoc tanti Regis nomini et auspiciis tribuendum judicet, ut sacram suam majestatem non inconsultam velit, necessitates insuperabiles exponat, veniamque demum impetret no-

Digitized by Google

permission to enter upon new counsels.

As for us, I am sure your Highness is sufficiently convinced of his Majesty's care in performing his part, and how happily he has overcome the greatest difficulties and straits, wherein, by occasion of the late pestilence, his revenues have been involved. About ten days ago, I gave Monsieur Rhintorf letters of exchange for 7,7000 dollars: he is a diligent person, a friend to the common league, and of equal probity and industry. I have given him also other letters, wherein a very rich merchant of Amsterdam has undertaken to transmit 30,000 dollars more to me with all convenient speed. I have also orders from his Majesty, to advance money for your Highness, upon a great quantity of tin, lately recovered from shipwreck at Ostend: and his Majesty has farther given me in charge, to let your Highness know, that whatever remains should be paid without fail.

All this matter was finished before Mr. Sherwood's departure for England, whom I have however instructed with the best counsel I could, as well as with letters of recommendation to the Chief Ministers; though I am certain his Majesty's justice and truth will be more prevalent in this matter,

vis et alienis consiliis ineundis.

Quod ad partes nostras attinet, satis confido C. V. abunde exploratum habere quanto studio et opere sacra sua Regia Majestas explendis ad amussim singulis invigilaverit, quantâque demum fœlicitate angustias et difficultates summas eluctata sit, quibus per nuperam contagionem res suas præcipuè pecuniarias involutas sensit. Ego jam infra decem elapsos dies literas Cambii usque ad septuaginta septem Thalerorum millia valituras, Domino de Rhintorf ritè tradidi, viro certè impigro, animique erga res communis fœderis propensissimi, nec minoris ut mihi videtur probitatis quàm industriæ. Eidem alias impertii literas, per quas mercator admodum opulentus Amstelodami in se provinciam recepit triginta adhuc Thalerorum millia mihi quam primum transmittendi. Eodem tempore et magnam stanni molem Ostendæ nuper ex naufragio revulsam, augendis C. V. rationibus impendere, inter regia jussa habeo; præcipuumque à sacrâ suâ Regiâ Majestate mandatum, ut C. V. persuasam penitùs et securam velim, quod reliqui est sine ullâ ambage solutum iri.

Hæc omnia excussa et absoluta fuisse advertendum est ante appulsum Domini Sherwood, quem tamen in transitu saluberrimis quibus fas erat consiliis, et commendatoriis apud summos Regios Ministros literis monitum volui; etiamsi pro comperto habeam, Regis Domini mei justitiam insignem et fidem inviola-

Digitized by Google

than the most importunate solicitations or complaints.

In the mean while I shall use my utmost care and diligence for the service of your Highness; and it will be your part, not to be wanting either to his Majesty, or your own honour and safety, which are all concerned in this conjuncture. I also beg your Highness not to be discouraged by your enemies, not to distrust your old friends, nor despair of raising new ones.

tam plus querimoniis omnibus vel precibus maximè importunis in hâc re valituras.

Ego interea curâ, opere, studio, et diligentiâ, nec desum nec defuturus sum; Celsitudini autem vestræ curæ erit ne sacræ suæ Regiæ Majestati, ne sibimet ipsi defuerit, ne propriæ denique gloriæ nec saluti, quas in hoc cardine rerum verti satis perspectum habere necesse est. Nec inter insurgentes hostes despondeat oro, nec veteribus amicis ad minimum diffidat, nec desperet de novis exitandis.

Time for the better changes many things.

Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
Detulit in melius.

In the mean time, I wish your Highness health and victory, and desire you will ever esteem me, Sir, your Highness's most obedient humble servant.

Valeat interea C. V. et vincendo pergat; inter autem addictissimos ejusque rerum studiosissimos de jure semper æstimet, C. V. observantissimum.

*To Mr. * Godolphin.*

Sir, Brussels, April 1, N. S. 1666.

AMONG my few debts, I could not have imagined myself likely to have any in Spain, till my late intelligence from England, and observation of the winds, persuaded me to it, as my good conscience does, to endeavour at the satisfaction of them before it be called for. After I have welcomed you into the climate with the same chear and kindness the sun I know will do, you must receive my acknowledgment of two letters I had from you before you left English ground: but, withal, some reproach that you could mingle the expressions of

* Afterwards Sir William Godolphin.

Digitized by Google

your kindness with that idle business of accompts, in which you are too just, as those you had to deal with for my * patent fees were, I think, too merciful, at least, much more so than I expected. Your letter from Sheen was more obliging, in making me believe you met any thing, in that corner, you could be entertained or pleased with; but, if it were so, I fear you had your revenge: for my wife tells me, to my face, in her letter upon that occasion, that she shall love you whilst she lives for the kindness of that visit. What effect this might have upon an absent man in Spanish air, I know not; but, from this more temperate climate I will assure you, that I am content to share with you the kindness of my best friends, which is all the quarrel I will raise at this distance, upon this occasion.

The last courier from Spain renewed our mourning at this Court, for the news of † Sir R. F. and Sir R. S's arrival at Madrid, without success in the Portugal truce; which, being the hinge of all affairs at this time in Christendom, is (I hope) reserved for your more happy and more dexterous management. I find it agreed from France, with other parts, that nothing will have good issue in Portugal without the style of King; and methinks the Spaniards height should rather aim at giving him King without Kingdom, than amuse about Kingdom without King. The best swords, and guns, and treasures, will have ever the power of reviving those controversies: in the mean time, pray endeavour to make them sensible, that the possession of Flanders is worth the reversion of Portugal; and that they could never have such a conjuncture to lay by the puntiglio as during their King's minority, who, when grown major, may

* For Baronet. † Sir Richard Fanshaw.

Digitized by Google

avow and disavow what he pleases of his mother's regency.

It is pleasant to me to be giving you arguments; but we are so full of it here, as you must excuse all impertinencies in this matter. In short, this is a business must of necessity be done, and therefore, for God's sake, dispatch it: and there is an end of my wise counsels.

From the Marquis here you must look for no great assistance in this one particular; his birth and interest make it too ticklish a string for him to touch: in all others assure yourself I have taken a care to press him, and his Excellency the pains to endeavour all he can possibly, for preparing whatever may honour your reception, or facilitate your negotiation; and being a person that has run through all the business of that monarchy, and allied to almost all the persons of the council, I will be confident his offices will not be useless to you, as I hope some of our countrymen's will that preceded them. When you farther desire any from his Excellency here, upon the notice, I doubt not to furnish you.

I find by him, the last promotion of counsellors was not made, either by the Duke of Medina's or Castriglio's faction or authority, but chiefly by the Queen's Confessor, and on purpose to strengthen a party dependent wholly upon her Majesty.

The Duke of Albuquerque you will find a man of more warmth than depth, and no great leader in council or business: Montalto is a man of more head, has more of the Queen's ear, and runs the fortune of growing one day into the greatest ministry: he is at present embroiled with the Duke of Medina; but if my Lord Sandwich would reconcile those two strings, and tune them together, he would find it easy to concert his own music there.

Digitized by Google

D'Ayala is Herb John, Aitona considered; and upon his march, which he may succeed well in, if he contents himself to make it by slow and even steps. Pignoranda would make a third party, is learned and called wise, but wants birth and vigour to support more greatness than he has. The Confessor is *honneste homme*, has lived, till now, retired from business, but made a great leap into it on the sudden. Castriglio and Caracena are so far known, as I need say nothing of what you are to hope or fear from them in your negotiation. Pray, present my humble service to my Lord Ambassador, and give him this little light, if you think it is worth it. The Frenchmen's looks towards us are fair, but I doubt their meaning; at the same time they offer at accommodation, they write into Holland, pressing, all that is possible, the States agreement with Munster, that their forces may be all free to fall upon England, and encourage the speedy setting out of their fleet, with assurance of their own being ready to join. They mustered fifteen thousand men, but ten days hence, near this frontier in great bravery, where King, Queen, and all the Court appeared. The French King resolves to march about the first of May, in the head of them, towards Sedan, upon pretence to force the Duke of Lorrain to disarm, or, at least, to know the cause of this present arming. In the mean time, the Hugonots of Pictou have put in three requests to the King, demanding liberty of their churches, according to the edicts of Nantes, and mingling some strains very bold, with others very humble.

The Prince of Munster hath Envoys from six of his neighbouring Princes now with him, treating about the peace and security of the Westphalian circle, and an accommodation with Holland; all which gives jealousy of his honour and constancy.

Digitized by Google

The Elector of Brandenburg hath put in a memorial to the States, recommending passionately the interest of the Prince of Orange, which hath given some jealousy both to Dutch and French.

The Elector of Cologn hath sent an Envoy to the Hague, who is there arrived, to demand the restitution of Rhinberg.

The Prince of Orange's sister's marriage is concluded with the Duke of Simmeren; for the consummation of it, the Princess Dowager and Prince of Orange intend suddenly for Cleve. Captain Bennet and Sir John Sayers, with several others, are arrived at Ostend in the King's yacht for Mademoiselle Bevarwaert's transportation. The Captain of the vessel approaching the town, and pretending to take a ship belonging to that port, and entering there for a Hollander, pursued and fired at her, till a gunner from the castle, not knowing what vessel ours was, gave her one gun, but so unluckily, that it struck through the cabin, killed the gunner, and shot off the Captain's leg. I have sent letters from the Marquis to the Governor at Ostend, to make all excuses and reparations. I have just now dispatched an express to the Hague, to desire Mademoiselle Bevarwaert's command where and when I shall attend her passage, which my Lord Arlington hath advised to make by Antwerp, and to leave all her money there in my hands, which, with a hundred and fifty thousand dollars I shall meet there about the same time for Munster, will make me so rich, that I think I had best take the good time, and run away to you into Spain; but I shall never reckon upon your protection longer than I have some honesty mingled with my kindness for you; and, while I have the least of one, you may reckon upon the most of the other that can be from, Sir, your most affectionate friend, and most faithful servant.

Digitized by Google

To the Bishop of Munster.

Brussels, April 27,
Sir, N. S. 1666.

THE care your Highness was pleased to express for the safety of my journey, makes me believe you will be pleased to hear how soon and happily I arrived at Brussels, after many difficulties.

By a letter yesterday I recommended to his Majesty the affairs of your Highness, as I promised to do, and hope my care will not be in vain: but, since I left Munster, I am informed that Monsieur Colbert the French Minister would arrive in a little time to buy the troops that your Highness designs to dismiss, and to put them into the French service. Now I cannot but inform your Highness, how unjust, how false, and how ungrateful it will appear, for those troops, that were raised and armed by the King my master's money, to enter into the service of a foreign Prince, now at open enmity with us, by which means they become rebels rather than enemies. And indeed I find all the Ministers of Munster are extremely averse from this counsel.

For since his Excellency the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo designs to draw into the Spanish service all who are subjects of his Catholic Majesty, with two or three regiments besides; and for that end designs to send Monsieur D—— to Munster; I think it more for

Episcopo Monasterii.

Bruxellis, Aprilis 27, S. N.
Celsissime Domine, 1666.

Summa ista solicitudo et benevolentia quas C. V. in securitate itineri meo præstandâ demonstravit, me persuasum habent, non ingratum fore si eam certiorem velim quàm brevi et feliciter, inter multa incommoda et difficultates, Bruxellas appulerim.

Ego jam per hesternas literas operam et studium meum impendi istis officiis C. V. erga sacram suam Regiam Majestatem exsolvendis, quæ pollicitus sum, nec vana fore confido. Accepi autem ex quo Monasterio discessi, Dominum Colbert ministrum Gallicum brevi appulsurum ad mercandas copias quas dimissura est C. V. easque in stipendia Regis Gallici attrahendas. Non possum C. V. celare quàm iniquum, infidum, et ingratum videbitur, copias pecuniâ Regis domini mei conflatas et instructas, in partes et stipendia transire Regis alieni, jamque palam nobis inimici, et contra nos armati; nec isto modo dici potest, ut novum bellum, sed genus quoddam rebellionis, instituant: à quo consilio ego omnes, quos conveni, Monasterii officiales expertus sum admodum alienos.

Cùm autem Excellentia sua Dominus Marchio de Castel Rodrigo in votis habeat subditos omnes Catholicæ Majestatis in sua stipendia retrahere, duasque insuper vel tres alteras legiones; et in hunc finem statuerit Dominum D—— Monasterium usque ablegare; ego multo magis

Digitized by Google

the honour and advantage of the King my master, that these forces be placed in the service of a Prince who has been long our friend and confederate; and therefore I desire your Highness to give a hand to this negotiation, which I promise shall be neither unknown nor unwelcome to the King my master. I am, Sir, your Highness's, &c.

et honori et utilitati Regis domini mei conducturum æstimo, si copiæ istæ in auspicia et stipendia Regis nobis jam temporis confœderati et amicissimi transeant. Ideoque supplico C. V. ut huic negotiationi facilitandæ (quicquid in se erit) utrasque manus præbeat, idque officium Regi domino meo nec ignotum nec ingratum fore spondeo. C. V. &c.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, Brussels, May 10, N. S. 1666.

After so long and so hard a journey, I thought you would be glad to know I was well again in my former station, and what was the occasion of my leaving it so suddenly and so privately, that I could not acquaint any of my friends with it before I went, which now I am at liberty to entertain you with.

This winter has passed with much noise, made by the Bishop of Munster in his enterprise against Holland, with some attempts, but little success. The fault he has laid in some degree upon the Marquis here, for refusing to suffer the Duke of Bornoville to go and command his troops, which he durst not consent to, for fear of giving too much offence to the French and Dutch, at a time when the Spaniards here are in ill condition for a quarrel: but the Bishop's chief complaints have been, want of those sums of money stipulated by his Majesty to be furnished him both before and after his taking the field. Our excuses upon the loss of the ships with tin before Ostend, though they may serve to keep us in countenance, yet they will not pay forces in the field, which he has often threatened these three months past must break up, without speedy supplies. In the mean time his neigh-

Digitized by Google

bouring Princes of the Empire, especially the Electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, with the Duke of Nieuburg, seeing a flame broke out, which must draw foreign armies into the Empire, both French and Dutch, have used first all offices they could to prevail with the Bishop to make his peace with Holland, engaged the Emperor himself in the same endeavours, and, finding him steady to his treaty with the King, at last the Duke of Brandenburg drew his forces into the field, resolved to compel him by joining with the Dutch, if he could not persuade him to make the peace; and the Duke of Nieuburg prepared to second him in this design. The French were not wanting in their offices to the same ends; so that a private agreement was made about the beginning of this month, for the French, Dutch, and Munster Envoys to meet at Cleve, and there treat the peace, under the mediation of the Elector of Brandenburg.

As soon as the King received this alarm, he sent an express immediately to command me away the instant I received it, with a commission to the Bishop of Munster, and with instructions to do all I could possibly to hinder the peace, and with bills of exchange to revive his payments, which had been long intermitted, and promise of more to be remitted every post, which I was to order into his agent's hands here, in my absence.

I went accordingly, acquainting none with my going but the Marquis here, who gave me twenty of his own guards, with command to follow absolutely all orders I should give them. I was to pass through a great deal of the Spanish country, much infested with Dutch parties, more of the Duke of Nieuburg's, and more yet of the Brandenburgers, who I know were all enemies to the affair I went upon, and therefore thought it best to pass for a Spanish Envoy, sent from the Marquis Castel Ro-

Digitized by Google

drigo to the Emperor, and charged my small guard, and the Cornet that commanded them, to keep true to this note. And some of my servants, as well as most of the guards, speaking Spanish, I spoke nothing else, unless in private, or when I was forced out of it by some incident.

In this guise I came to Dusseldorp, where the Duke of Nieuburg happened to be (contrary to what I had been informed): as soon as I was in my inn, one of his officers came to know who I was, and whither I was going; and would not be satisfied by the common answer from my servants and guards, but would receive it from me: when he came up, though with much civility, yet he pressed me so far, that I found there was no feigning with him, and so bid him tell the Duke, that within an hour I would come and give him an account both of myself and my journey. I remembered the great kindness that had ever interceded between his Majesty and this Prince; and, though I went upon an errand that I knew was disagreeable to him, yet I thought he would be less likely to cross me, if I acquainted him frankly with it, than if I disguised scurvily, as I was likely to do, being the thing of the world I could do the most uneasily.

I had a letter of credence which I brought out of England at my first coming over for this Prince; but, passing another way to Munster, I had not used it, and so resolved to do it now. I did so, gave it him, told him my errand; how much his Majesty reckoned upon his friendship, and desired his good offices to the Bishop of Munster in the design I went upon, of keeping him firm to his treaties with the King my master.

This Duke is, in my opinion, the finest Gentleman of any German I have seen, and deserves much better fortune than he is in; being small, very much

Digitized by Google

broken, and charged with a very numerous issue; he seems about fifty years old, tall, lean, very good mien, but more like an Italian than a German: all he says is civil, well bred, *honneste*, plain, easy, and has an air of truth and honour. He made great professions of kindness and respect to the King, was sorry he could not serve him in this affair; his engagements were already taken with the Emperor and his neighbouring Princes for making the Munster peace, and by that means keeping war out of the Empire. He doubted I could not serve his Majesty upon this errand neither; for he first believed I could not get safe to Munster, the ways being all full of Dutch and Brandenburg parties, who had notice of the King's intention to send away to the Bishop upon this occasion; and, if I should arrive, he believed, however, I should find the peace signed before I came.

My answer was short, for I was very weary, that go I would, however I succeeded; that, for the danger of the journey, I knew no providing against it, but a very good guide who might lead me through ways the most unfrequented; that I would desire his Highness to give me one of his own guards to conduct me, because none would expect a person going upon my design, would have one of his livery for a guide; and I desired he would let me pass, as I had done hitherto in my journey, for a Spanish Envoy. The Duke, after some difficulties at first (which we turned into pleasantries) complied with me in all: I took my leave, and went away early next morning.

I never travelled a more savage country, over cruel hills, through many great and thick woods, stony and rapid streams, never hardly in any highway, and very few villages, till I came near Dortmund, a city of the Empire, and within a day's journey, or something more, of Munster. The

Digitized by Google

night I came to Dortmund was so advanced when I arrived, that the gates were shut, and with all our eloquence, which was as moving as we could, we were not able to prevail to have them opened; they advised us to go to a village about a league distant, where they said we might have lodging. When we came there, we found it all taken up with a troop of Brandenburg horse, so as the poor Spanish Envoy was fain to eat what he could get in a barn, and to sleep upon a heap of straw, and lay my head upon my page instead of a pillow. The best of it was, that he, understanding Dutch, heard one of the Brandenburg soldiers coming into the barn, to examine some of my guards about me and my journey, which, when he was satisfied of, he asked if he had heard nothing upon the way of an English Envoy that was expected; the fellow said, he was upon the way, and might be at Dortmund within a day or two, with which he was satisfied, and I slept as well as I could.

The next morning I went into Dortmund, and, hearing there that, for five or six leagues round, all was full of Brandenburg troops, I dispatched away a German Gentleman I had in my train, with a letter to the Bishop of Munster, to let him know the place and condition I was in, and desire he would send me guards immediately, and strong enough to convey me. The night following my messenger returned, and brought me word, that, by eight o'clock the morning after, a Commander of the Bishop's would come in sight of the town, at the head of twelve hundred horse, and desired I would come and join them so soon as they appeared. I did so; and, after an easy march till four o'clock, I came to a castle of the Bishop's, where I was received by Lieutenant-General Gorgas, a Scotsman in that service, who omitted nothing of honour or entertainment that could be

Digitized by Google

given me. There was nothing here remarkable, but the most Episcopal way of drinking that could be invented. As soon as we came in the great hall, there stood many flaggons ready charged, the General called for wine to drink the King's health; they brought him a formal bell of silver gilt, that might hold about two quarts or more; he took it empty, pulled out the clapper, and gave it me, who he intended to drink to, then had the bell filled, drunk it off to his Majesty's health, then asked me for the clapper, put it in, turned down the bell, and rung it out, to shew he had played fair, and left nothing in it; took out the clapper, desired me to give it to whom I pleased, then gave his bell to be filled again, and brought it to me. I that never used to drink, and seldom would try, had commonly some Gentlemen with me that served for that purpose when it was necessary; and so I had the entertainment of seeing his health go current through about a dozen hands, with no more share in it than just what I pleased.

The next day after noon, about a league from Munster, the Bishop met me at the head of four thousand horse, and in appearance brave troops. Before his coach, that drove very fast, came a guard of a hundred Hey Dukes that he had brought from the last campaign in Hungary; they were in short coats and caps all of a brown colour, every man carrying a sabre by his side, a short pole-ax before him, and a skrewed gun hanging at his back by a leather belt that went cross his shoulder. In this posture they run almost full speed, and in excellent order, and were said to shoot two hundred yards with their skrewed gun, and a bullet of the bigness of a large pea, into the breadth of a dollar or crown-piece. When the coach came within forty yards of me it stopped, I saw the Bishop and his General the Prince d'Homberg come out; upon

Digitized by Google

which I alighted, so as to meet him between my horses and his coach: after compliments, he would have me go into his coach, and sit alone at the back end, reserving the other to himself and his General. I excused it, saying, I came without character; but he replied, that his agent had writ him word I brought a commission, which styled me *Oratorem nostrum* (as was true) and that he knew what was due to that style from a great King. I never was nice in taking any honour that was offered to the King's character, and so easily took this: but from it, and a reception so extraordinary, began immediately to make an ill presage of my business, and to think of the Spanish proverb,

> Quien te hase mas corte que no suele hazer
> Ote ha d'enganner ote ha menester.

And with these thoughts, and in this posture, I entered Munster, and was conducted by the Bishop to a lodging prepared for me in one of the Canons houses.

The Bishop would have left me immediately after he brought me to my chamber; but I told him I could not let him go without asking an hour of audience that very evening. He would have excused it upon respect and weariness, and much compliment; but I persisted in it, unless he would chuse to sit down where we were, and enter upon affairs without ceremony. He was at last contented; and I said all I could towards my end of keeping him to the faith of his treaty with the King, to the pursuit of the war till both consented to the peace, and to the expectations of the money that was due. He answered me, with the necessities that had forced him to treat, from the failing of his payments, the violences of his neighbour Princes, and the last instances of the Emperor; but that he would, upon my coming, dispatch

Digitized by Google

one immediately to Cleve, to command his Ministers to make a stop in their treaty till they received farther orders, which I should be master of.

I went to supper after he left me, but was told enough privately to spoil it before I sat down, which was, that the treaty was signed at Cleve; though I took no notice of it, because I knew, if it were so, being angry would hurt nobody but my master or myself.

Next day the Bishop made a mighty feast among all his chief Officers, where we sat for four hours, and in bravery I drank fair like all the rest; and observed that my Spanish Cornet, and I that never used it, yet came off in better order than any of the company. I was very sick, after I came to my lodging; but he got a horseback on purpose to shew himself about the town, while the rest of the company were out of sight all the afternoon. The day after was agreed to give me an account of the affair of Cleve; upon the return of the Bishop's express after my arrival, and at an audience in the evening, with great pretence of trouble and grief, he confessed the treaty was signed, and so past remedy, and that it had been so before his express arrived, though much against his expectation, as he professed; I am sure it was not against mine, for I left Brussels in the belief that I should certainly find all concluded, which made my journey much harder than it could have been with any hopes of succeeding.

I told him, when I found all ended, and no hopes of retrieving it, that I would begone within a day or two, and would take my leave of him that night, being not well, and needing some rest before I began my journey. He said and did all that could be to persuade my stay till I had represented his reasons to the King, and received an answer: and I found his design was to keep me as long as he

Digitized by Google

could, while his agent at Brussels received bills of exchange from England that were ordered him in my absence; so that I knew not how much every day's stay would cost the King, and that no other service was to be done his Majesty in this affair, besides saving as much of his money as I could. The Bishop, finding me immoveable, advised me however in pretended kindness to go by Cologn, which, though four or five days about, would be the only way that was left for me with any safety, the Dutch and Brandenburgers having posted themselves on purpose to attend my return upon all the other roads; and he offered me Colonel Ossory, an Irish Gentleman in his service, to conduct me: I seemed to accept all, and to be obliged by his care, but wished myself well out of it, and took my leave, though he pretended to see me again next day.

I went home; and, instead of going to bed, as I gave out, I laid my journey so as to be on horseback next morning between three and four o'clock upon Good-Friday, which I thought might help me to make my journey less suspected: I fee'd the officer that opened the gates for me, to keep them shut two hours longer than usual that morning (which I hear was performed), and so committed myself to the conduct of the Duke of Nieuburg's guide, to lead me the shortest way he could into some place belonging to his master. I rode hard, and without any stop, to a village eight leagues from Munster, and just upon the borders of the Brandenburg country: there I baited, and pretended to go to bed and stay all night; but in an hour's time, having got fresh horses ready for four men that I pretended to send before me, I put on a cassaque of one of the Marquis's guards, and with my page, the Duke of Nieuburg's guard, and Colonel Majette, a Flemish officer in the Munster service, I took horse at the back door of my inn, while the

Digitized by Google

rest of my company thought me a-bed, and resolved to ride as far as I could the rest of that day, leaving my steward to follow me the next, with the rest of my train and guards.

I rode till eight at night through the wildest country and most unfrequented ways that ever I saw, but being then quite spent, and ready to fall from my horse, I was forced to stop and lay me down upon the ground till my guard went to a peasant's house in sight, to find if there were any lodging for me; he brought me word there was none, nor any provisions in the house, nor could find any thing but a little bottle of juniper water, which is the common cordial in that country: I drank a good deal, and with it found my spirits so revived, that I resolved to venture upon the three leagues that remained of my journey, so as to get into the territories of Nieuburg, having passed all the way since I left my train through those of Brandenburg, whose engagements with the Dutch left me no safety while I was there. About midnight I came to my lodging, which was so miserable that I lay upon straw, got on horseback by break of day, and to Dusseldorp by noon; where being able to ride no farther I went to bed for an hour, sent to make my excuses to the Duke of Nieuburg upon my haste and weariness, and to borrow his coach to carry me to Ruremond, which was a long day's journey. This Prince sent me his coach, and his compliments, with all the civility in the world. I went away that afternoon, got to Ruremond the next, and from thence hither, not without great danger of the Dutch parties, even in the Spanish country: and so have ended the hardest journey that ever I made in my life, or ever shall; for such another I do not think I could ever bear, with a body no stronger than mine.

At my return I have had the fortune to stop se-

Digitized by Google

veral bills of exchange, that would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the Bishop's agent here, and to forbid the payment of the rest he received in my absence, which, though accepted by the merchants at Antwerp, yet were not satisfied, the time having not expired at which they were payable. And this service to the King is all the satisfaction I have by this adventure, which has ended the whole affair of Munster, that has of late made so much noise, and raised so much expectation in the world. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Brussels, May 14, N. S. 1666.

Though my late Munster journey has given your Grace some ease by my intermissions, and me many troubles; yet I met none of which I was more sensible, than what I received at my return by the news of your Grace's indisposition. But I comforted myself first, that your health is too considerable to fall, though it may suffer, under common accidents; and since, with the certainty given me of its recovery: in which I give your Grace, what I receive by it myself, as much joy, I am sure, as if I felt never so great an addition to my own; since mankind is esteemed so great a self-lover, that these are the highest expressions will be allowed us.

I have desired my Lord Arlington to give your Grace, in my own letters to his Lordship, the account of my whole transaction, which I take no great pleasure in repeating, and should very difficultly at once give relations so particularly, as what I made whilst the objects, their dispositions, and motions, were in my eye. The length of them may make them too much trouble to your Grace, of which my father or brother, I know, would be glad

Digitized by Google

to ease you, and give the minute of a draught at large.

I so concerted with the Bishop whilst I was there, and with the Marquis here at my return, that we expect here between five or six thousand of his best troops, upon his Excellency's paying fifty thousand pattacons, and obliging himself to restore them upon re-payment of the like sum whenever the Bishop shall have need of them; which is a better disposal of forces raised by his Majesty's money, than if they had been drawn over into the French service, according to their prospect, and Monsieur Colbert's endeavour, who was sent to Munster on purpose to marchand them. Whether the Duke of Nieuburg, who seems wholly French, will make any difficulty in giving them passage through his country, I know not; nor whether the light be true which was lately given me of a war like to succeed in those parts between that Duke and the Marquis of Brandenburg, which would in this conjuncture mingle the cards after the strangest manner imaginable.

Though we hear much of our fleet's being at sea, yet we talk more here of the Dutch slowness, who have not yet men for above fifty ships, and those so disheartened and cold in the service, that I fear nothing but their eluding our great preparations by keeping close in their harbours, till for want of victuals we may be forced to return to ours.

My Lord Carlingford is now at Prague, uncertain upon his late letters from Court, whether he advances this way, or returns to the Emperor, whither he hath dispatched his son, and where we have some ground of complaint, seeing the Emperor's name among all the other Princes in the guaranty of the Munster peace. The endeavour of that Court had been much better employed in compassing the peace with Portugal, which hangs

Digitized by Google

yet in great uncertainties, not to say difficulties: neither of which there is the least of in my being, with the most hearty and unfeigned passion, My Lord, yours, &c.

To my Lord Lisle.

My Lord, Brussels, Aug.—N. S. 1666.

I RECEIVED lately the honour of one from your Lordship, and by it the satisfaction of finding your health and good humour continue, as well as my share in your favour and memory, which I am much concerned in. I assure your Lordship, in the midst of a town and employment entertaining enough, and a life not uneasy, my imaginations run very often over the pleasures of the air, and the earth, and the water, but much more of the conversation, at Sheen; and make me believe, that, if my life wears not out too soon, I may end it in a corner there, though your Lordship will leave it, I know, in time for some of those greater and nobler houses that attend you. I am obliged by the very pleasing relations you give from those softer scenes, in return of which, such as I can make you from those of business, or war, or tumult, must, I know, yield rougher entertainment; and therefore I have sent them in a paper, which shall pass rather for a Gazette than a letter; and shall content myself only to tell your Lordship, that it is hardly to be imagined the change which about three weeks past have made in the face of Holland's affairs, which are now esteemed here to be upon the point of breaking into much such a confusion as we saw in England about 1659: nor can any thing almost be added in these parts to the reputation of his Majesty's arms and affairs; so far, that it grows a credit to be an Englishman; and not only here, but in Amsterdam itself. I am told my Lord Staf-

Digitized by Google

ford, who went lately thither about a process, has more hats and legs than the Burgomaster of the town. I will not increase your Lordship's trouble by any enlarging upon this subject, having offered you a much longer in the inclosed. I wish I could give you some of another kind, by sending you a little Spanish Mistress from hence, whose eyes might spoil your walks, and burn up all the green meadows at Sheen, and find other ways of destroying that repose your Lordship pretends alone to enjoy, in spite of the common fate of mankind. But, however your friends suffer by it, I wish it may last as long it pleases you; I am sure the professions will do so of my being, My Lord, your Lordship's most faithful humble servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, Aug.—N. S. 1666.

I AM not to be forgiven, that endeavour by one trouble to make room for another, and solicit your Lordship this way, that my wife may have leave to solicit you in a matter wherein I can never resolve to do it myself. Your Lordship's friendship has left me little to desire or complain of, unless it be when I find my own fortune so disproportioned to my mind, in the resolutions I have of doing his Majesty all the honour, as well as all the service I can: but how ill they agree in this point (though I was ever rich while I was private, even beyond my desires) is a story I would rather any body should tell you than I: however, I should not bring my wife into this scene, but that I know she will ask nothing but my own, is a person not apt to be troublesome or importunate, and in all kinds the best part of, My Lord, yours, &c.

Digitized by Google

Patri Gottenburg.

Domine, Bruxellis, Dec. 26, N. S. 1666.

Recte et per manus dulcissimæ tuæ sororis accepi chirothecas elegantissimè consutas, et non minus politè contextas literas; per quas nec me elapsum memoriâ vestrâ, nec planè exutum benevolentiâ, et sentio et gaudeo. Utroque nomine me pulcherrimæ istæ indoli per totam vestram familiam diffusæ, potiùs quam ulli meo merito, obligatum æstimo: habeo itaque et ago gratias quamplurimas; ut vero acceptiori quodam modo eas referre studeam, sororem optimam exoravi, quæ me (ut spero) officio et debito perfunctum brevi redditura est. Valeat interim reverentia vestra, studiis propositis auspicatissimè incumbat, et ex votis procedat, meque semper teneat amicissimum, &c.

To Mr. Thynn.

Sir, Brussels, Feb. 19, N. S. 1667.

About two days since I received the favour of yours of the 16th past, and am sorry to be put upon the defence in an encounter so much to my advantage: this had not arrived, if I could as easily have found the way of conveying my letters, as the dispositions of writing; for those I have always had about me since I knew your station and character, which I thought would help to bear me out in that attempt. The little acquaintance you are contented to own, I durst not reckon upon; because it was so much more than I deserved, and so much less than I desired: but am very glad, that may be allowed of among the obligations we have to enter upon this commerce, though we need no other than our Master's service, which may on both sides be improved by the communication of what passes

Digitized by Google

in our different scenes. I shall not engage in answering the compliments of your letter, though I should have much more justice on my side; but I am very ill furnished with that sort of ware: and the truth is, there is required so much skill in the right tempering, as well as the distribution of them, that I have always thought a man runs much hazard of losing more than he gains by them, which has made me ever averse, as well as incapable of the trade. It will be to more purpose to let you know the confidence we have here of our treaty with Spain being signed in all points to our satisfaction: but whether Portugal has or will accept their part in it, which is a truce of forty-five years, I cannot yet resolve you; only this I am assured, that it is feared in the French Court, as well as hoped in ours.

The current news at Antwerp, as well as here, is of the Dutch merchant fleet from Nantes and Rochel, consisting of above a hundred sail under the convoy of six men of war, being fallen into a squadron of about twenty of our frigates, and few are said to have escaped: though this be doubted of none here, and the current letters from Zealand, as well as Ostend, made it probable; yet I suspend my confidence till the arrival of my English letters, which are my Gospel in these cases. This coldness I know makes me lose many pleasures, but on the other side helps me to escape many disappointments, which light belief in the midst of so many light reports is subject to. The counsels or dispositions of a subordinate government, as this is, are not worth troubling you with; but those in the Court here are in short what we wish them.

Those of the scene you are in deserve much more the enquiry; and I should be very glad to know them from so good a hand. My desires of serving you can, I am sure, never be known from

Digitized by Google

a better than my own, which can value itself to you by nothing else, but by telling I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

To the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor.

My Lord, Brussels, March 4, N. S. 1667.

Upon the arrival of the last post from Spain, which brought us the unwelcome news of our treaty meeting an unhappy obstruction when it was at the very point of being perfected, Count Marsyn came to me, and after a preface of the great obligations he had to his Majesty, and the part he took in all our interests, as well as those of Spain, he fell into large discourses of the unhappy influences any interruption in the present treaty would have upon the affairs of both Crowns. He insisted much upon the hardship we put upon the Spaniards, in not consenting to leave the assistance of their enemies, which was all the advantage they expected from this treaty, instead of many they gave; that the great effect of it on both sides would thereby be lost, which was a return into mutual confidence, and at least the beginnings of a sincere friendship. That Spain having consented to what terms his Majesty thought reasonable, and Portugal not only refusing them, but entering at the same time into new dependencies upon France; he could not see what could oblige his Majesty to more than offering Portugal an equal peace, and becoming the warrant of it. That, at his Majesty's mediation, Spain had given them a style as usual and as honourable as what they desired; and, if they could resolve to give them that of King instead of Crown, they had then no need or use of his Majesty's mediation.

That, whether we thought it our interest to have

Digitized by Google

a peace or war in Christendom, we must begin by adjusting the business of Portugal; for, if we desired the first, nothing could so much awe the French into quiet dispositions as that peace, and ours with Holland, to which that would likewise be an ingredient. If the latter, and we had a mind rather to be seconds in a war of Spain with France, than principals in any, (which he thought was our true interest) nothing could make way for it, or enable Spain either to begin or sustain a war with France, but a peace with Portugal.

That, he was confident, his Majesty's consenting to abandon them, in case they refused to be included in our treaty, would force them immediately to accept it; that if not, and his Majesty should hereafter find it his interest to support them upon any great successes of Spain on that side, it would be easy to do it by connivance, by voluntary troops of his own subjects, or by a third hand, provided it went no farther than to keep Spain in the temper of yielding to the peace upon the terms his Majesty shall have judged reasonable: but for the present, without his Majesty's condescension to Spain in this point, he did not see how he could hope to effect our treaty, or to receive any fruits of it, where new occasions of diffidence and distaste would every day arise.

These were the chief of Count Marsyn's discourses, which he ended in desiring me that I would represent them to his Majesty's chief Ministers, and particularly to your Lordship from him, as the best present testimony he could give of his zeal to his Majesty's service and affairs, and which he would have done himself, but for fear it might look like intruding into matters and counsels he was not called to.

Besides this single point upon which this stop of our treaty is wholly grounded, I could not but

Digitized by Google

represent to your Lordship some other circumstances which I imagine may have fallen in and helped to occasion it. I hear France has declared positively to the Spaniard, that they will immediately begin the war upon the Spaniard's signing the treaty with us, and concluding the truce or peace with Portugal upon our mediation. To this end, and to shew the Spaniards they are in earnest, they busy themselves in making new levies, and drawing down many troops upon these frontiers, as well as all sorts of provisions, either for sieges or a camp. Upon this, I know not whether the Spanish councils may be so faint as not to dare give the French any pretence of a quarrel, but preserve their quiet rather by shrinking, than making a bold peace: or whether being composed of men that hardly ever looked out of Spain, or consider any thing but that continent, they may not, upon foresight of war, either continuing with Portugal, or beginning in Flanders, rather chuse the first, where, being invaders, they may give themselves what breath they please, employ their own natives in the charges of honour and gain, and keep all the money spent in the war still within their country; whereas whatever comes into Flanders never returns, and is swallowed up by so many foreign troops, as the levies for that service must needs draw together. There may yet another and more prudent consideration arise with these, which may for the present delay the conclusion of our treaty; and that is, a desire to sign it rather before the winter than in the spring, and by that means both gain this summer to finish the fortification of their frontiers here, and the next winter to put their army in a better posture than they now are, or, I doubt, will suddenly be for the beginning of a campaign; and, if this counsel should be taken by concert with us, that no breach of confidence may grow

Digitized by Google

between us by these delays, but the French only flattered by vain hopes of breaking our treaty, and thereby induced to let the Spaniard grow a year older in their peace with them, and slacken the war of Portugal into as low expence, and as little action or hazard, as they can: I know nothing can be said against it, and should be apt to believe it, were the counsels there in the breast of any one person by last resort; whereas the divided interests and passions of the Counsellors cannot well suffer them to fall into such a resolution with hope of consent and secret among them all.

This reflection puts me upon another I hear from private hands, which may possibly have made some change in the course of our treaty; which is, that the whole management of affairs in the council of Spain seems at present to be devolved into the hands of Count Castriglio; the Confessor leaving it to him, and reserving to himself those things only which depend immediately upon the will of the Queen, and proposing to himself, during his ministry, (which cannot be long in regard of Castriglio's great age) to make way for his own, by growing older and practised in affairs, as well as the knowledge, obligations, and dependences of persons. Now our treaty having never passed through Castriglio's hands, but conducted by Sir Richard Fanshaw wholly through the Duke of Medina's (his declared enemy) and since by my Lord Sandwich chiefly through Pignoranda's, who is a third party; it is not improbable that a new hand may give it new form, either to add something of his own, or to shew his authority, or perhaps to pursue his former usual dispositions, which have been bent upon the war with Portugal, considering no part of the monarchy but Spain and the Indies; and I doubt, in particular, not very partial to our alliance or affairs.

Digitized by Google

Upon these intimations your Lordship will infinitely better judge than I, to what to attribute the present ill posture of our affairs in Spain, and how to retrieve it. I am ever, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant.

To Don Estavan de Gamarra, the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague.

Brussels, Mar. 29, N. S. 1667.

My Lord,

I DO not know how to acquit myself of the obligation my Lord Stafford has engaged me in to your Excellency, in begging your favour to procure a passport from the States for my wife. Your Excellency, I am sure, will excuse the care of a mother, in providing all that lay in her power for the safety of her children, and who to ease herself in it has (methinks) considered so little to whom she was troublesome. If I had been consulted upon this occasion, I should not have suffered one, I am so nearly concerned in, to owe her safety to those who yet profess themselves enemies to the King my master; and much less to them that treat the wife of one of his Ministers like a merchant, in demanding an account of her goods; and therefore am very glad the passport did not come till she was a shipboard in one of his Majesty's yachts, trusting, next to God Almighty, in the protection of his royal name. And, though I have not yet heard how her journey has succeeded, I esteem myself as much obliged to your Excellency (whatever

A Don Estavan de Gamarra.

Brusseles, 29 di Mar. S. N. 1667.

Sennor,

Yo no se que modo me he de rescartar del obligo en que el Sennor Conde de Stafford me ha empennado a V. E. pidiendo su favor, en procurar una passaporte de los Estados de Hollanda para mi mujer. V. E. ha de perdonar el recato de una sennora que tenia gana de proveyer todo lo que era possible a la seguridad de sus ninvios, y para descansarse en este cuidado no se le dava nada (mi pareçe) a qui en cargava trebajo ni importunidad. Si yo huviera sido de lajunta en esta occasion, no huviera permitido que una persona que me tocava tan, cerca pidiesse su seguridad de los que hazen hasta aora profession de enimigos al Rey mi Sennor; y mucho menos de los que havian de trattar a la mujer de un Ministro como a mercadera, mandando la cuenta de su bagaje; y por esto me huelgo mucho de que no ha venido el passaporte antes que se hay a embarcado la Sennora en un yacht del Rey my Sennor, confiando se (con Dios) en el amparo solo de su real nombre: aunque no se hasta aora en que ha parado su viage. Todo via por lo que ay de las intenciones tan favora-

Digitized by Google

happens) for your favourable intentions upon this occasion to a man neither known nor deserving to be so, as if you had delivered me and my family from the greatest dangers.

God Almighty preserve your Excellency many years, and give me the occasions of serving you. I am, yours, &c.

bles de V. E. en esta occasion a um hombre ny conocido ny que merece serlo, me tengo por obligado ad mismo punto, como se me huviera rescatado a mi y mi familia, de los mayores peligros que se pueden topar en la mar o la tierra.

Dios guarde a V. E. muchos annos, y a mi me de las occasiones de hazer las obras como la profession de lo que soy. De V. E. muy humilde servidor.

To my Lady Giffard, written in the name of Gabriel Possello.

Sennora mia, *Amberes, 30 de Marco, S. N.* 1667.

He recebido con mucho gusto y no menorre conocimiento la guarnicion de spada que V. S. me ha hecha la merced de enbiarme, la qual me ha stado, mucho mas encarecida con le que me ha dicho despues el Sennor residente de la parte de V. S. que no era menester enternecer me en lagrimas ny oraciones (como estoy accostumbrado) con el sentimiento de tal obligo y que V. S. se estimara muy bien pagada con una carta Espagnola; porque a mi es tan facile de mal escrivir como a V. S. de bien hazar. Y es verdad que se tiendra por pagado con una carta? Voto a tal que no le faltara carta aunque la pidiera en Gallego. Pero digo me di veras es santa V. S. O es hechizera? porque este se abuen seguro que ha hecho milagro y con una guarnicion di plata mi ha herido hasta el coracon y aum mas fuerte que nolo pudiera hazer el mas bravo cavallero con una oja de Toledo. Pero me dira V. S. que estamos en un siglo que no es cosa mueva el hazer milagros con la plata y que con esta sola se cumplen aora hazanas mayores que no con el valor y el acero en los siglos passados. Por vida mia que tient razon V. S. y por este milagro

Digitized by Google

no lo han de cortarla la capa. Pero no se como ha de escapar quando la dire que despues que he tocado esta guarnicion encantada, me van amenudo cayendo las canas, y en lugar de un viejo de setenta annos, me hallo moco de quinze, me siento calentar la sangre en las venas, y bolverse en triumfo el desterrado amor para asirse d'este miserable coracon hazer le pedacos en un punto. Desdichado de mi que he de tocar otra vez estas pisados tan trabajosas de la ciega mocedad como me basta una vida a padecer dos martyrios. Es possible que yo me sienta otra vez abrasor de las llammas amorozas, y que de ceniza tanfria salga de nuevo tan violento fuego. Que yo me voya otra vez resfriandomi con sopiros, y anegandome en las lagrimas y padeciendo las penas y los afanes que no me dexaran la vida si no fuera para sentir cada dia el dolor de la muerte. Ah Sennora de mi alma, quanto mal me ha hecho conhazar me tanto bien, quanto mi ha de costar de veras, la burla que me han hecho de ser enamorado di V. S. en mi viyez passada. Pero quan facilemente se remedia el mas trabajoso amor con uno poco d'esperança. Yo me voy piensando que una Sennora tan complida no puede desviarse de la razon, y que me haviendo tan favorecido quando estava viejo, no puede faltar d'alguna piedad para mi descanso, estandome aora moco y lindo y enamorado. Pero si me lisonjea mi deseo y me enganna mi esperança lo que ay di bueno en esta occasion, es que me havienda su favor rendido en un instante de viejo moco, de la misma manera me parece que su crueldad me ha luego de buelver de moco viejo, y entonces me havre a burlar me tanto de su hermosura quanto se puede burlase aore V. S. de mi passion.

Bive V. S. mille annos, y se vea enamorada como yo a setenta, que con esto no se ha de olvidar entonces de, su mas humilde cryado y galan, Gabriel Possello.

Digitized by Google

To Colonel Algernon Sidney.

Sir, Brussels, April 29, N. S. 1667.

I RECEIVED two days since one from you of the $\frac{19}{29}$th past, with two inclosed, which I shall not fail to convey by the English pacquet that parts this evening, and with the same assurance that usually attends my letters; so that I think you may reckon upon their safety in those hands to which they are addressed. Your present abode was no secret to me, before I knew it from your own hand: that information having been given me about two or three months since by some English Gentlemen, who passed from Italy through Germany and these parts into England, where I cannot think they made a greater secret of it upon occasion, than they had done here.

I am sorry your dispositions or your fortunes have drawn you so far out of the reach of your friends services, and almost correspondence; in which I doubt the difficulties may shortly increase, at least this way: for we are here at present in little hopes to see next month end without the advance of a French army into these Provinces.

I had letters very lately from Petworth, and my wife some as fresh from Penshurst, which left health in both those places; and will thereby, I suppose, furnish you with news not unwelcome from, Sir, your most humble servant.

To Monsieur Gourville.

Brussels, May 2, N. S. 1667.

Sir,

YOU ask me whether we have a mind in earnest for a peace, and I ask you, whether you have a mind in earnest for a war: for

A Monsieur Gourville.

De Bruxelles, May 2, S. N. 1667.

Monsieur,

Vous me demandez si nous voulons tout-de-bon la paix; & moi, je vous demande si vous voulez tout-de-bon la guerre; car jus-

Digitized by Google

as yet we are no better informed of the designs and marches of the French troops, than we were at your departure from Brussels. I begin to think that that King and his Ministers are mortal like other people, and that their affairs are managed with as little concert as those of their neighbours. For I believe, as to what concerns this country, the critical minute is past, and that the French will find here a braver defence than they pretend to believe. However it is certain, if they had begun by marching rather than menacing about three weeks ago, the business on this side had been past remedy. In short, I as little comprehend the French proceedings at present, as those of the Spaniards a while ago, nor where they can find their account in this enterprise which begins to awake and alarm all Christendom.

qu'icy nous n'en savons pas plus sur vos desseins & la marche des troupes Françoises, que nous en savions à votre depart de Bruxelles. Je commence à croire que ce Roy & ses Ministres sont mortels comme le reste des hommes, & que leurs affaires sont maniées avec aussi peu de concert que celles de leurs voisins; car je croy, que pour ce qui est de ce pais icy, l'heure de berger est passée pour eux, & qu'ils y trouveront une resistance plus opiniatre, & plus rébutante qu'ils ne s'imaginent: mais il est constant, que si au lieu de menacer, ils eussent commencé à marcher il y a trois semaines, l'affaire étoit sans ressource de ce coté icy. Enfin je les comprens aussi peu dans leur conduit d' à present, que je comprenois autrefois les Espagnols dans la leur; & je ne prevois pas comment ils pourront trouver leur conte dans la poursuite d'une enterprise, qui va reveiller & même choquer toute la Chrétienté.

For ourselves, my real opinion is, that our intentions for the peace are very sincere, and cannot fail, if the other parties bring along with them the same dispositions; and if I were as much concerned therein, as you perhaps may be, I would regulate my affairs accordingly for the future.

A nôtre égard, mon sentiment, que je croy véritable, & que je vous communique sans deguisement, est, que nos intentions pour la paix sont fort sinceres, & qu'elle ne sçauroit manquer de se faire, si les autres parties y apportent les mêmes dispositions; j'ajoute, que si j'y étois interessé autant que j'entrevois que vous pouvez l' être, je reglerois mes affaires conformement aux conjunctures.

I thank you for your account of what passes in your parts; but I am very little satisfied with the Queen of Spain's letter, whereof a copy has been delivered at the same time to

Je vous rends graces de ce que vous me mandez ce qui se passe en vos quartiers; mais je suis fort peu satisfait de la lettre écrite à la Reyne d'Espagne, dont la copie a été donnée en

Digitized by Google

the States by Monsieur D'Estrades. I think the form is faulty, as well as the substance; and that, if your soldiers be at present no better than your Secretaries, affairs will hardly succeed as they imagine.

même tems aux Estats par Monsieur d'Estrades. Il me semble qu'il y a du defaut dans la maniere aussi bien que dans le fond de la chose même; & que si pour cette fois vos Capitaines n'en savent plus que vos Secretaires, les affaires n'iront pas le train qu'on a pensé.

By the last ordinary from Spain, it appears that they dream no more of war there than they do of fire, at least they conceal from our Ambassador any advices they may have received of it from hence: but our treaty of commerce was yet once again upon the point of being signed. The Spaniards make no preparations against Portugal this campaign, and therefore seem to think of being on that side upon the defensive, or else of an accommodation; though they are well enough informed of the particulars of an accord concluded between France and Portugal.

Par ce dernier ordinaire d'Espagne, ils ne paroissent non plus songer à la guerre qu'au feu; au bien ils taisent à notre Ambassadeur les avis qu'il peuvent avoir reçus deça; mais notre traitté de commerce étoit encore une fois sur le point d'être signé. Ils ne font point de preparatifs contre le Portugal pour cette campagne; & par là ils semblent songer seulement ou à se tenir de ce coté-là sur la defensive, ou bien à entendre à un accommodement; quoyqu'ils sachent bien le detail de l'accord conclu entre la France & le Portugal.

Nothing perplexes me more than to find a way of writing often to Breda, and you will not send me your address. I resign up this to my fortune; but, since yours is always better than mine, it may happen upon that account that you may never receive it. As happy as you are, I advise you to look to your affairs at Breda; for in a few days I resolve to go and plunder your house at Brussels, and get satisfaction for my great orange-tree upon your little ones. I do not pretend it shall be open war; however the Hollanders will tell

Il n'y a rien qui m'embarasse plus que de trouver les moyens d'écrire souvent à Breda; & vous ne m'envoyez point aussi votre adresse. J'abandonne celle-cy à mon étoile; mais comme la votre l'emporte toujours sur la mienne, il pourra bien arriver qu'elle manquera sa route. Quelque heureux que vous soyez, je vous conseille pourtant de bien faire vos affaires à Breda; car dans peu de jours j'iray piller votre maison à Bruxelles, & vanger mon grand oranger sur vos petits. Ce ne sera pas guerre declarée; mais les Hollandois vous diront que nous faisons le diable

Digitized by Google

you that we English are D—— and all at reprisals. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

à quatre en matiere de represailles. Je suis, &c.

To my Lord St. Albans.

My Lord, Brussels, May 13, N. S. 1667.

SINCE my acknowledgements of the honour I received some time since from your Lordship, I have had nothing to give me countenance in offering any new trouble; and indeed the party is so unequal in regard of our stations at this time of Paris and Brussels, as well as all other circumstances, that no commerce can pass without very great presumption on my side, and as great condescension on your Lordship's: for we are so amazed with the numbers and bravery of the French preparations to invade this country, that we can hardly lift up our eyes against the rising of this sun, that, it is said, intends to burn up all before it: yet, not to flatter you, though men's eyes are weak at first sight, when they have gazed a while I believe they will find their hands, and try to defend themselves against gold, as well as against iron; and perhaps the stomach they have conceived at being treated with so little ceremony as to be invaded without any declaration of war, to have the Duchy of Brabant not esteemed worth the demanding, nor any colours given to the justice of the invasion, will make the defence sharper than is expected, as it has done the voluntary contributions larger than was imagined.

This makes all Friars already despair of praying away the war, and begin to look like other worldly men; and the very Nuns fear they may be forced to work too, before the business ends: in short, all prepare for a warm summer, only the Spanish Duennæs cannot think so ill of a King that married an

Digitized by Google

Infanta, and will never leave wondering that *un rey qui tiene que comer en su casa, y de regalarse tanbien*, should resolve to give himself and them so much trouble for nothing. Our poor Nuns at Louvain have more faith, and not less fears; and therefore the reverend mother hath sent to desire me to recommend them to your Lordship's favour, and to beg of you to get them a protection from thence, in case the scholars and learned there should not find arguments to defend their town against the French, who, I can assure your Lordship, will not lose much by the bargain, as far as I see of that nunnery, nuns and all; for it seems, by their faces, as well as their buildings, to be an ancient foundation, and gone much to decay.

Now they have put me upon desiring passports, my wife will needs have me recommend her to your Lordship for another for herself and servants, and baggage, to go over into England: and, if she shall find it convenient, to pass as far as Calais, and embark there, because she is no lover of the sea. Upon the first of these requests your Lordship has occasion to merit very much; but by the second, to deal freely, I know not what you will gain, besides the obligations of a person who is already all that can be, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant.

To my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

My Lord, Brussels, May 21, N. S. 1667.

I KNOW not by what conveyance, nor by what delays, the honour your Excellency intended me so long since from aboard the frigate, came yesterday to my hands, and made my acknowledgements later than they ought to have been. I am sorry you agreed so ill with the sea, since that is the Dutch men's element, with whom we hope you

Digitized by Google

will agree so well; but if you had the faculty of uttering your heart in the seamen's sense, as well as you had of uttering your thoughts; I am to rejoice with you upon the good health you must needs have brought ashore, and to believe that the temper and constitution of your body is as sound and as good as that of your mind. Since my last to my Lord Holles, our ordinary from Spain arrived; by which Mr. Godolphin assures me, that I may expect the news of our treaty at Madrid being signed by the next, nothing remaining at the date of his letter besides only the examination of the phrase in Latin, which was referred to the Inquisitor General and Count Pignoranda; after whose sentence upon it, nothing was in sight that could stop the immediate signing and sealing.

Mr. Godolphin assures me, all parts of the treaty of commerce are so much to our desire and advantage, that he hopes to see many a rich man in England by it: for the other part, which concerns the adjustment with Portugal, though the terms are likewise agreed between us and Spain, yet the present effect of it seems likely to be avoided by the late accord between France and Portugal, of which I send the account inclosed by the copy of Sir Robert Southwell's letter to my Lord Sandwich upon that occasion. I inclose likewise the copies of the French King's last letters to the States-General, and, at the same time, to the Queen Regent of Spain, declaring his intentions to invade these countries; which last methinks is drawn with so ill colours and so ill grace, that, if his Captains do no better than his Secretaries upon this occasion, the success of his enterprize may prove no better than the justice of it here appears. If these papers may have arrived already some other way, your Excellency will however pardon my diligence, since you receive no other trouble

Digitized by Google

than that of throwing them away. The levies here and musters go on with all the care and speed this government is capable of. This evening, I am assured, the twelve hundred Italians so long expected, are arrived at Ostend. Last night parted Don Bernard de Salinas, dispatched from the Marquis here, to beg some assistance from his Majesty: the present hopes are only of leave to recruit the old regiment here to the number of two thousand, or else to raise two new ones, under such officers as his Majesty shall name. The cloud threatening these parts from France is not yet broken, and the marches of their troops to three several rendezvouses make it yet uncertain where it will fall. Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, Mons, and St. Omers, are in very good condition, and the last hath three thousand men in garrison, besides the Burgeoisie. The Prince of Ligni has now four thousand horse effective at the head quarters near Nivelle, where there will be five thousand foot to join with them, and attend their enemy's motion, and cover Brussels upon occasion. It is most certain, that if the French had begun to march when they began to talk, about three weeks since, this country had been lost without dispute or remedy; the defence will be now perhaps sharper than expected. La Basse and Armentiers are already slighted, and Charleroy is all mined within, the mines filled with powder; guns and magazines drawn off, and ready to fly upon the first approach of the French; which is here esteemed both a generous and prudent resolution of the Marquis, since he could not finish it in time, nor preserve his child without the mother's danger.

I know nothing else to increase this trouble, besides the assurances of my being, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant.

Digitized by Google

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, May 27, N. S. 1667.

Two days since came hither the news of Armentiers being seized by a party of the French horse, about five hundred strong; half of the fortifications were already slighted, and not above an hundred and fifty soldiers left in the town. What their next design will be, seems not yet resolved; their troops marching on all parts give the occasion I suppose to the several governors of Mons, Cambray, and Valenciennes, to signify, by expresses hither, the jealousy each of them has of the storm being ready to fall upon their parts.

At Cambray and Lisle, several French have been taken surveying the works, and disguised; but all those places are at present in so good condition, that the choice may perhaps make some difficulties in the French counsels, which I believe have been much disconcerted by the blowing up of Charleroy; a resolution they expected not from the Marquis, and without which these parts of the country had run inevitable dangers, and the most successful invasion had been made in those Provinces where the French pretensions lay.

The discoursers here observe, that the first pace of the war, being made in Flanders, loses all the good grace which the French endeavoured to give their invasion; that the town they have taken can import no more than the advance of their frontiers; that they seem unresolved whether to keep it or no; how to use the governor and soldiers whom they took in their beds, whether as prisoners or friends, and more uncertain what to do next; that their slowness in entering the country, and loss of twenty days time, though they were then as ready as now, has certainly saved these Provinces:

Digitized by Google

for it is constant without any dispute, that, if they had fallen on in the beginning of this month, Charleroy, Nivelle, Louvain, Brussels, and Mechlin, would have cost them neither time nor danger. From these circumstances, the reasoners here conclude a weakness and incertitude in the French counsels, and begin to hope they may have taken their measures as ill among their neighbours as they have among themselves; and say confidently, that, unless they are agreed with England, their affairs are in a worse posture than they have been these twenty years. They begin to hope that all our late practices with the French are aimed no farther than to embark them in this affair, and have our revenge for the game they played in engaging us in the Dutch war: they say, that if, by offers and shews of abandoning Spain, we have drawn the French into this war, which hath already cost them all their confidence with Holland, all farther hopes of amusing Spain, and the credit of their good faith and meaning with the rest of Christendom: that if, after our peace made with Holland and France, we resolve to offer our mediation between France and Spain, and, upon the refusal or failing of it, join with the Hollander in the protection of these countries, enter vigorously into the war, share with the Spaniard whatever shall be gained from the French, and let Holland find their account by destroying all the French designs of trade and plantations abroad; the reasoners here conclude, that if this has been our design for these two months past, and be pursued with the same success it has begun, it is one of the greatest counsels that has ever been conceived by any Prince, and which will make the greatest change in our own affairs, and in those of all Christendom besides, and appear the best adjusted

Digitized by Google

revenge upon the French, that ever was taken upon an enemy.

From Breda we have got little more than the entry of our Ambassador, which makes us believe some mystery in the delays of peace there, as well as those of war on the other side.

From Sweden I have, the last post, a particular assurance of that Crown's good intentions towards the house of Austria, of their dispatching one Monsieur Tongel Envoy into Spain, who is to pass this way, and will be addressed to me, to introduce him to the Marquis, by whose representations the Court of Sweden desires to have their Minister's reception in Spain favoured, and his negotiation advanced.

I am, as will ever become me to be, with equal passion and truth, My Lord, yours, &c.

To my Lord Holles.

My Lord, Brussels, May 29, N. S. 1667.

I KNOW not with what speed or success three of mine may have arrived at Breda, but am apt to doubt the certainty of this commerce, by observing, that your Excellency's of the 22d came not to my hands till yesterday, and after the receipt of it I was so unlucky, as not to find the Baron De l'Isola till later at night than would suffer this dispatch: I now send it to Mr. Shaw of Antwerp, with orders to convey it by express from thence, in case he meets no other sudden occasion; and whatever favour or commands your Excellency may hereafter design me, will come sooner and safer, I suppose, by an address to the same hand at Antwerp.

I acquainted the Baron De l'Isola with the Dutch allegations concerning some advances made by him

Digitized by Google

as from his Majesty, upon the point of Poleroon. He says, however they may seem to interpret it, they could not understand it by any thing that passed from him in that private communication, which was all he entered into upon his short stay in Holland. That upon his first discourse of his Majesty's intention to make the treaty of 1662 the foundation of this at present, the person he discoursed with raised two difficulties; the first, that of Poleroon; and the other, the continuance of the pretensions left on either side; which, as they had given occasion, or at least pretext, for the present quarrel, so, if they were left still undecided, they might hereafter have the same effect; whereas their desire was, by this peace, to cut off the root of all future differences. For the first point, he (the Baron) asked, whether, if all other articles should be agreed, the States would be so obstinate upon the point of Poleroon, as to endanger the peace for that alone: It was answered, the French had already essayed to do some offices in this particular, and had brought it to this very demand, whether the States would continue the war rather than yield the point of Poleroon; and that the States had answered formally, they would.

For the second, concerning the mutual pretensions left in the treaty of 1662, he (the Baron) seemed to approve the cutting them all off, but proposed, that, in consideration of it, the States should give his Majesty a sum of money in some sort proportionable to what his pretences might amount; and that, if the States would make any advance considerable in point of the sum, he (the Baron) would employ all his own and his friends endeavours, to induce his Majesty to a condescension in this point of Poleroon, as well as that of clearing all pretensions on either side.

Digitized by Google

To this was answered, that for Poleroon nothing more could be said, nor any consideration make the States yield it, without the alternative of restoring all on each side, which would create length and difficulty in the treaty. That, for a sum of money in satisfaction of his Majesty's pretensions, they could not consent to any such proposal, without a particular liquidation of what the pretensions on each side amounted to; since they believed in gross their own upon us to be higher than ours upon them: and yet at the same time, it was insisted, that no such examen or liquidation should be entered upon, since doing it before the conclusion would expose the treaty to the danger of delays, and consequently of accidents; and leaving it to commissioners after the conclusion would leave field for new disputes.

This was the sum of the Baron's negotiation, in which he made all the advances as from himself; but when he found he was not likely to bring it to any issue, by reason of those two difficulties, that is, Poleroon, and the sum in consideration of our clearing all pretensions; he then told them, as by his Majesty's order, that, the point of Poleroon touching our East-India company, rather than his Majesty, the King would send over some persons deputed from the said company, with his Ambassadors; and, if the States would do the same, it was likely the persons deputed from each company might find an expedient in the business.

This the Baron gives me for a short and true relation of all his discourses in Holland, which having been made with one person alone, and very private, I find he expected not they would have been so public, as to be alledged upon any new negotiations.

Our news from the frontiers since my last is this: about the time of the French King's coming down

Digitized by Google

to Arras, the orders were given for slighting Armentiers, la Bassee, and Charleroy; which being public, and begun to be executed at Armentiers, a Brigetin Priest of that town went to Arras, and, upon complaints of their being left without defence in the times of danger that were approaching, made application to the Governor of Arras for a protection for their town: within a day or two after, when the works were about half slighted, instead of the protection, came seven or eight hundred French horse, and, finding a guard of about forty men at the entrance of the place, made a discharge upon them, killed one, and wounded two: upon which, those few soldiers that were in the town-house, shot and killed three or four of the French, who began to pillage some of the burghers houses; but this disorder was soon appeased by their officers; after which they summoned the peasants in, and began to repair the fortifications, kept the Governor in restraint, and carried the matter as if this had been the declaration of war. This news coming to the Governor of Lisle, he seized upon some Frenchmen he found in his town by way of reprisal for those taken at Armentiers; and the Marquis gave order to the Prince of Ligny, who commands the horse here, to charge any party he should find making courses into the frontiers, and to endeavour to bring away some prisoners, both as reprisals for those of Armentiers, and to know something of the French pretensions.

After they had kept Armentiers about five days, they released the Governor, told the people they came not to begin any war, but only at their invitation to protect the town; drew off at first one party of their men, and last Friday morning all the rest: the Governor of Lisle set his Frenchmen at liberty, and the Prince of Ligny some that he had taken in a skirmish of small parties upon the bor-

Digitized by Google

ders of Hainault, wherein the Marquis tells me about fifty of the French were killed, and near twenty taken. This I am more particular in relating, because it seems the first pace of the war, though since in a manner disavowed by the French; and indeed it is generally censured as the effect of a weak and uncertain counsel, to begin without any formed design or declaration, by seizing so rashly a place of no moment, and in the Province of Flanders, where none of their pretences lie. These three last days the motion of their troops has been through Philippeville, and the frontiers of Hainault. The French King was expected last night at Quesnoy, and to-day at Philippeville. They have begun a bridge upon the Sambre, near a village called Marsin au Pont, a league up the river from the place where Charleroy stood; the ground being on the one side Païs de Liege, and on the other the Spaniards country; so we expect here they will enter that country to-morrow; but which way they intend their first impression is uncertain; the bridge they make serving a design either upon Namur, Mons, or Brussels. The Spanish forces on this side lie between this place and Marimount, and consist of about four thousand horse and as many foot, have no formed design but to attend the enemy's motion, and to retire for the defence of this place, in case of the enemy's marching this way.

The general belief here of the most intelligent is, that France has had the skill or good luck *de nous endormir*, both us and Holland, in this great conjuncture, and by assuring us of peace upon good terms with the Dutch, and at the same time the Dutch of never according with us, nor breaking with Spain to their (the Hollanders) prejudice, will amuse us both in a slow treaty till they have made so great an impression in these countries, as

Digitized by Google

will give neither of us the liberty to take those measures upon this affair, to which either of our interests might lead us; and perhaps find means to divert the treaty at last from coming to any issue. They say, that delaying our treaty, for the point of Poleroon, is losing a dinner for mustard; and that every day it is deferred, endangers an irrecoverable conjuncture, that heaven hath given us, of making ourselves considerable to whom, which way, and to what degree, we please. God send these reasoners to be deceived, and that we may not be so, at least no more by the same hands. I am, my Lord, yours, &c.

To Sir Philip Warwick.

Sir, Brussels, June 21, N. S. 1667.

I AM very sorry that I must rejoice with you, and condole with all your friends at the same time, and upon the same occasion; for, though the retreat I hear you have made from business must needs be a trouble and a loss to us all, yet I know it is an ease and a happiness to yourself, or else a wise man, as you are, ought not to have chosen it. I will not tell you how great a contentment I had in knowing my business lay so much in your way, because I never intend to pursue more than what his Majesty pleases to make my due, and I have ever reckoned both upon your justice and your kindness: but I must bear this disappointment, since you are the author of it, which is the best consolation I can think of. In the mean time, I hope you do not intend to retire from the commerce of your friends, as well as that of business; for, though you should lock yourself up within your walls or Frog-pool, I shall ever pretend to have a share in you, there itself, and never omit any occasions of assuring you, that no change you

Digitized by Google

can make in your course of life can ever make any in the resolutions I have taken of being always, Sir, yours, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, July 19, N. S. 1667.

The diligence of the posts, or favour of the weather, have given me two of your Lordship's to acknowledge since my last of the 1st and 5th current, with the good news of the Dutch being beaten off at Harwich; for, since we are in a disease, every fit we pass well over is so much of good, and gives hopes of recovery: I doubt this is not the last, for I hear De Witt is resolved that their fleet shall not give over action till the very ratifications of the treaty are exchanged: in which he certainly pursues his interest, that the war may end with so much the more honour abroad, and heart at home; for commonly the same dispositions between the parties with which one war ends, another begins. And, though this may end in peace, yet I doubt it will be with so much unkindness between the nations, that it will be wisdom on both sides to think of another, as well as to avoid it. All discourse here is of the peace as a thing undoubted, and every pacquet I receive from England confirms me in the belief that a war abroad is not our present business, till all at home be in better order; no more than hard exercise which strengthens healthy bodies, can be proper for those that have a fever lurking in the veins, or a consumption in the flesh; for which, rest, and order, and diet, are necessary, and perhaps some medicine too, provided it come from a careful and a skilful hand. This is all that I shall say upon that subject, which, I presume, has before this received some resolution by my Lord Ambassador Coventry's arrival; for I confess my stomach

Digitized by Google

is come down, and I should be glad to hear the peace ended, and our coasts clear, since it will not be better; but all this while, *Multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi hostis*, and I am sure would not desire to live, unless with hopes of seeing ourselves one day in another posture, which God Almighty has made us capable of, whenever we please ourselves.

I am sorry to find the commerce between England and Spain so far cut off, as it should seem by your Lordship's complaints of having received none of a date later than May the first, for mine holds yet pretty constant, though I suppose visited by the French in their passage. On Sunday last I received one from Mr. Godolphin of the first current, where he told me, the treaties were sent signed by several ways into England, and therefore concluded some of them arrived. He seems to doubt still the Portuguese accepting their share in it; which is the likelier, because the Marquis tells me, he hears, by this ordinary, that better terms may be offered them, though it is pleasant the Spaniard should not have yet resolved to give them the title, when, for aught I know, without it, all their own may be in danger. His Excellency assures me they are resolved in Spain upon declaring a general war, both by sea and land, and that way make the French unmask their designs; that they have sent orders already to seize upon all that belongs to the French in their Indies, who have a great share in the Spanish fleet that is daily expected home; that they have remitted, by this ordinary, to his Excellency a hundred and thirty thousand crowns, which is the third remise of about that sum, arrived since the war began; and that they have negotiated with the Fregoni, or some such name, being the ablest merchants at Amsterdam, for nine hundred thousand more; so that the

Digitized by Google

process seems well entered, and I wish them a good issue.

We have here no certainty of the progress of the French arms, nor can we say that Courtray is taken, though the report has continued more or less these four days; but the Marquis would not own any advice of it on Saturday night; though he spoke very despairingly of the town, but confidently of the citadel's holding out at least fifteen days, if those within it did their duty. His Excellency makes a very different story of the Baron of Limbeck's defeat, which was reported here; and assures me, that, having carried some relief into Courtray, he retreated with only two hundred horse, and, meeting a party of six hundred of the French, charged through them, killed the Captain of their vanguard with several others, and came off with the loss only of fifteen men.

Yesterday morning the Marquis went to Ghent, with intentions of returning in three or four days; and hath left the town so emptied by his journey, as well as the camp, that, besides the Governor, I know not of a Gentleman of my acquaintance in it.

The Baron de l'Isola went this morning towards Antwerp, and from thence passes towards Ostend to go over with the convoy, which I could not persuade him to lose, though I endeavoured it upon a hint in your Lordship's letter, and more upon his telling me that you had dissuaded him from coming till the ratifications of the treaty were passed; but he says he is confident that will be before he can arrive; that he hath sent over all his papers and bills of exchange beforehand, and, if he loses this convoy, knows not when to hope for a secure passage. And, if his Majesty thinks fit, will rather make a stay at Gravesend, or any other place near the water-side, till all jealousy of his coming be blown over.

Digitized by Google

I give your Lordship humble thanks for the letter I received to make use of part of the money in Mr. Shaw's hands, for supply of what was grown due to me; and am, I am sure, at all times, more troubled to ask it, than pleased to receive it. I was much more sensibly obliged by the part you was pleased to give me of the good fortune arrived to your family, by its increase, and my Lady's safety; and will assure your Lordship you do me but justice to believe I am concerned in all that happens to you, and more particularly upon this occasion, of which I have made very constant enquiries, though without your Lordship's trouble. I gave you *El para bien* with all the joy that can be, and the presages of many more such adventures; and know my Lady began with her own sex for no other reason, but because the war was ended. My own particular satisfaction in it is, that my family may continue their services to your Lordship's, and that way make up what I shall fall short of in the expressions of that passion and truth, wherewith I am, my Lord, yours, &c.

To my Lord Lisle.

My Lord, Brussels, August — 1667.

I RECEIVED lately the honour of one from your Lordship, which after all complaints of slowness and dulness had enough to bear it out, though it had been much better addressed, but needed nothing where it was, besides being yours. In my present station I want no letters of business or news, which makes those that bring me marks of my friends remembrance, or touches at their present thoughts and entertainments, taste much better than any thing can do that is common fare.

I agree very much with your Lordship, in being little satisfied by the wits excuse, of employing

Digitized by Google

none upon relations as they do in France; and doubt much it is the same temper and course of thoughts among us, that makes us neither act things worth relating, nor relate things worth the reading. Whilst making some of the company laugh, and others ridiculous, is the game in vogue, I fear we shall hardly succeed at any other, and am sorry our courtiers should content themselves with such victories as those. I would have been glad to have seen Mr. Cowley, before he died, celebrate Captain Douglas's death, who stood and burnt in one of our ships at Chatham, when his soldiers left him, because it should never be said, a Douglas quitted his post without order; whether it be wise in men to do such actions or no, I am sure it is so in States to honour them; and, if they can, to turn the vein of wits to raise up the esteem of some qualities above the real value, rather than bring every thing to burlesque, which, if it be allowed at all, should be so only to wise men in their closets, and not to wits, in their common mirth and company. But I leave them to be reformed by great men's examples and humours, and know very well it is folly for a private man to touch them, which does but bring them like wasps about one's ears. However, I cannot but bewail the transitoriness of their fame, as well as other men's, when I hear Mr. Waller is turned to burlesque among them, while he is alive, which never happened to old poets till many years after their death; and though I never knew him enough to adore him, as many have done, and easily believe he may be, as your Lordship says, enough out of fashion, yet I am apt to think some of the old cut-work bands were of as fine thread, and as well wrought, as any of our new points; and, at least, that all the wit he and his company spent, in heightening love and friendship, was better employed, than what is laid out so prodigally

Digitized by Google

by the modern wits, in the mockery of all sorts of religion and government.

I know not how your Lordship's letter has engaged me in this kind of discourses; but I know very well you will advise me after it to keep my residency here as long as I can, foretelling me what success I am like to have among our courtiers if I come over. The best on it is, my heart is set so much upon my little corner at Sheen, that, while I keep that, no other disappointments will be very sensible to me; and, because my wife tells me she is so bold as enter into talk of enlarging our dominions there, I am contriving here this summer, how a succession of cherries may be compassed from May till Michaelmas, and how the riches of Sheen vines may be improved by half a dozen sorts which are not yet known there, and which, I think, much beyond any that are. I should be very glad to come and plant them myself this next season, but know not yet how those thoughts will hit. Though I design to stay but a month in England, yet they are here very unwilling I should stir, as all people in adversity are jealous of being forsaken; and his Majesty is not willing to give them any discouragement, whether he gives them any assistance or no. But, if they end the campaign with any good fortune, they will be better-humoured in that, as well as all other points: and it seems not a very unlikely thing, the French having done nothing in six months past but harass their army, and being, before Lisle, engaged in a siege, which may very well break the course of their success. They have not yet made the least advance upon any of the out-works, but been beaten off with much loss in all their assaults: and, if that King's design be to bring his Nobility as low as he has done his people, he is in a good way, and may very well leave most of the brave among them in their trenches there.

Digitized by Google

I had not need write often at this length, nor make your Lordship any new professions of my being, my Lord, your, &c.

To my brother Sir John Temple.

Dear Brother, Brussels, October 10, N. S. 1667.

HAVING written so many and long letters to my father, I resolved this should be to you, though upon a subject wherein he has been very desirous to be informed; which was more than I could pretend to from any notices of my own, having been young and very new in business, when I was first employed upon the Munster treaty. All I knew of the grounds or occasions of our late war with Holland was, that, in all common conversation, I found both the Court, and the Parliament in general, very sharp upon it; complaining of the Dutch insolencies, of the great disadvantages they had brought upon our trade in general, and the particular injuries of their East-India company towards ours: and it was not easy to think any should better understand the honour of the Crown than our Court; or the interests of the nation, than the house of Commons. One thing I confess gave me some reflections, which was, to observe that three of my father's greatest friends, and persons that I most esteemed upon many accounts, were violently against the counsels of this war; which were my Lords of Northumberland, of Leicester, and Sir Robert Long; though two of them were of the Privy Council, and the third in a great office, and ever bred up in Court. For my own part, when I entered into that affair, all I knew was, that we were actually in a war, and that the best we could do was to get out of it either by success and victories, or by a fair and reasonable peace, which I believed our treaty with Munster would make way

Digitized by Google

for: and I found some of our Ministers had no other end by it, having given over the thoughts of any great advantages we should find by pursuing the war. How that succeeded, and how it ended, you all know there, as well as I do here.

Upon conclusion of the peace at Breda, my sister took a very strong fancy to a journey into Holland, to see a country she had heard so much of; and I was willing to give her that satisfaction, after the melancholy scene we have had here ever since the French invasion of this country. We went *incognito*, with only her woman, a valet de chambre, and a page out of livery, who all spoke Dutch. I leave it to her to give you an account of what entertainments she met with there, which she was much pleased with, especially those of the Indian houses: for me, who had seen enough of it in my younger travels, I found nothing new but the Stadthouse at Amsterdam, which, though a great fabric, yet answered not the expectation I had, from so much time, and so vast expence, as had been employed to raise it: which put me in mind of what the Cavaliero Bernini said of the Louvre, when he was sent for to take a view of it, that it was *una granpiccola cosa*. The chief pleasure I had in my journey was, to observe the strange freedom that all men took in boats and inns, and all other common places, of talking openly whatever they thought upon all the public affairs, both of their own State, and their neighbours: and this I had the advantage of finding more by being *incognito*, and think it the greatest piece of the liberty that country so much values; the government being otherwise as severe, and the taxes as hard, as among any of their neighbours.

At our return from Amsterdam we lay two nights at the Hague, where I made a visit to Monsieur de Witt: I told him who I was, but that, having

Digitized by Google

passed unknown through the country to all but himself, I desired I might do so still. I told him, my only business was, to see the things most considerable in the country, and I thought I should lose my credit, if I left it without seeing him. He took my compliment very well, and returned it, by saying, he had received a character of me to my advantage, both from Munster and Brussels, and was very glad to be acquainted with me at a time when both our nations were grown friends; and had equal reason to look about us, upon what had lately happened in Flanders; he seemed much to regret the late unhappy quarrel between us, which had made way for this new war among our neighbours. He laid the fault of ours wholly upon Sir George Downing, who having been Envoy from Cromwell at a time when the States were forced to observe good measures with him; Sir George had made use of that disposition, to get a great deal of money from the East-India company, who were willing to bribe his good offices, in some disputes that remained between the two companies: that, having been continued in the same employment by the King, he thought to drive the same trade; but, finding the company more stanch, he had taken upon him to pursue a dispute about the old pretensions, upon the loss of the Bonadventure, as an affair of State between the nations, whereas it was left by our treaties to be pursued only as a process between the parties. That, in their treaty with Cromwell, all pretensions on both sides were cut off, but with this clause: *Liceat autem* (to such as were concerned in that affair of the Bonadventure) *litem inceptam prosequi.* That, this treaty having been made the model of that concluded with his Majesty soon after his restoration, that clause continued still in the new treaty; and the process which had been begun long before

Digitized by Google

Cromwell's treaty, before the Magistrates of Amsterdam, had still gone on after their treaty with the King, according to the true intention of that clause. That Mr. Cary, who was employed to pursue it in the name of Courtin's executors, had brought it very near a composition, demanding forty thousand pounds for all pretensions, and the Dutch offering thirty. That he (Monsieur de Witt) to end this affair, had appointed a meeting with Mr. Cary, who had since confessed to his friends, that he was resolved to end it at that meeting, and rather to take the Dutch offer, than let the suit run on; but that very morning Sir George Downing sent for him, told him it was a matter of State between the two nations, and not only a concern of private men; and therefore absolutely forbid him to go on with any treaty about it, otherwise than by his communication and consent: that he would put in a memorial to the States upon it, and instead of forty thousand pounds, which he demanded, would undertake to get him fourscore, and that he was sure the Dutch would give a great deal more, rather than venture a quarrel with his Majesty.

This course he pursued, made extravagant demands, and with great insolence; made the same representations to our Court, and possessed some of the Ministers that he would get great sums of money, both for his Majesty and them, if they would suffer him to treat this affair after his own manner; for he was sure the Dutch would go very far in that kind, if they saw there was no other way to avoid a war with England.

That Monsieur de Witt for his part thought they were a free State no longer, if they should yield a point that they not only knew we had no ground for, but were sure we knew it as well as they; and that whatever the States should give upon

Digitized by Google

this occasion, might be demanded at any time by our Court upon any other, since none could have less pretence.

This was all the account he thought fit at least to give me of this war; but other politic reasoners among the Dutch pretended to give several others. Some said, the Duke's military genius made him desirous to enter upon some action abroad, and be at the head of a great fleet against a State he never had been a friend to: that the Duke of Albemarle had long had a pique to their country, upon some usage he resented during his being an officer there: that he had a very mean opinion of their fleets, as well as their other forces, since the successes of the English in the first war during the Usurper's time: that some of the Ministers were possessed with an opinion of getting money, by only threatening a war, without intention of seeing it brought to effect; and had let it run on so far, till it was too late to go back. Some others attributed Sir Thomas Clifford's violence in the house of Commons, and practices with our East-India company, to a deeper design; and would have the matter of religion concerned in the quarrel, as their pamphlets still endeavoured during the war: and these will not believe, that, when all Christendom was at peace, such a war could be begun merely upon a chicane, about the loss of a ship or two so many years since. There are others that lay the war upon the conduct of France, by which, they say, we were engaged in it: that the present King was resolved to pursue the old scheme laid by Cardinal Richlieu, of extending the bounds of France to the Rhine, for which ends the conquest of Lorrain and Flanders was to be first atchieved. That the purchase of Dunkirk from us was so violently pursued for this end, without which they could not well begin a war upon Flanders. That

Digitized by Google

after this they had endeavoured to engage the present Ministry in Holland, to renew the measures once taken in Cardinal Richlieu's time, for dividing Flanders between France and Holland: but, not succeeding in it, they had turned all their intrigues to engage us in a war, which might make room for their invasion of Flanders, whilst the two neighbours, most concerned in its defence, should be deep in a quarrel between themselves: that they made both parties believe they would assist them if there were occasion, and would certainly have done it: that as they took part with Holland upon our first successes at sea, and the Bishop of Munster's treaty; so, if the successes had been great on the Dutch side, they would have assisted us in order to prolong the war.

These are discourses current in Holland upon this subject; and I had rather give you those of others upon it, than any of my own. The Duke of Ormond will be able to judge whether any of these Dutch reasonings are true, or which are most probable. For my part I can only say, that, however the war began, I am very glad it is ended; but sorry it has made way for another, which, if it lasts any time, is like to involve us, and perhaps all the rest of the neighbours, either in a new war, or in new dangers. For if the French shall carry Flanders, as they very well may in another campaign, by the weakness and disorders in the government here; the Dutch are sensible that they must fall to be a maritime province of France, upon the best terms they can. The Empire will expect to see them soon at the Rhine, and thereby masters of four Electors; and what a condition England will be left in by such an accession of maritime forces, as well as provinces, to such a power as France is already, is but too easy and too melancholy a reflection. The Dutch are much exasperated at this

Digitized by Google

invasion of Flanders, both as dangerous and as scornful to them in particular; for they say that France, till the very time of their march, gave constant assurances to the States, both by the French Ambassador here, and by their Ambassador at Paris, that they would not invade Flanders without first taking their measures upon it with the States themselves. I find our Court are as much provoked on the other side, not only upon this new danger, but also upon the French having declared war against us in favour of Holland, without the least pretence of injury, or other occasion; so that, if we both understood or trusted one another, it is likely we should be both of a mind in this matter; but, after such a sharp war as hath been for two years between us, and such a snarling peace as that at Breda, I do not well see how this can happen before it be too late, and so must leave these contemplations to such as are in the ministry, both in England and Holland, as well as Spain and the Empire, to take such measures as are wise and necessary in such a conjuncture; which is perhaps the most important that has been a great while in Christendom, and may have consequences that none alive will see the end of. It is time I am sure that you should see an end of this long letter, and come to the assurances of my being ever, Sir, yours, &c.

To Sir George Savile.

Sir, Brussels, Dec. 9, N. S. 1667.

BECAUSE my wife assures me I am not wholly lost in your favour and memory, I will not run any farther venture of forfeiting my title for want of laying claim to it, but make use of the smallest occasion rather than none in a matter wherein I am so much and so justly concerned.

Digitized by Google

This place never was in a worse posture to furnish either a war or a Gazette than at this time, for the troops are all mouldering in their winter quarters; and, as the greatest calms ordinarily succeed the greatest storms, so, since the heat of news and occurrences here during the late campaign, I have hardly known a place where less of both were stirring; action and invention seeming to have ended together. There is indeed a new difference between the two Crowns arisen this winter; which is, that France talks of peace, but prepares for war; and Spain talks of war, but prepares hitherto as if they were sure of peace: they say at present they are off that with Portugal, which is the only thing yet in sight that can make the other necessary to them.

Because my wife tells me you were content with the last papers I sent of the Roman news, I take occasion to continue it by the inclosed, though there be seldom any thing in it worth considering at this distance, unless it be the style, and the quiet of that scene, which, like the upper region, has no share in the storms of that below. And besides, as men have more curiosity to enquire how a great man sleeps, than what a mean man does all day long; so the very rest and idleness of that Roman Court seems, among the discoursers, more worth knowing, than the busy motions of many small ones in this northern continent, who yet at this time pretend to be considered, and to make a noise.

This is all I can say to excuse my inclosure of such papers, unless it be that, to tell a plain truth, I was very glad of the occasion to assure you that I am ever, with very much passion, as well as with much reason, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.

Digitized by Google

The Triple Alliance was made in January 1668.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, London, Jan. 2, N. S. 1668.

You will wonder to see a letter from this place, my last having been from Brussels, without any thoughts of such a journey: and, because my stay here is like to be very short, and my time extremely filled, I take the first hour I can find, to give you some account of this adventure.

Soon after my last an express came to me from his Majesty, commanding me to come immediately into England with all the speed I could possibly make, but to take the Hague in my way, and there, upon the credit of a visit I made Monsieur de Witt last September, and which passed very well between us, to make him another, and let him know his Majesty had commanded me to do so on purpose, to inform myself of the opinions he had concerning the French late invasion in Flanders, their great success there, and the appearances of so much greater this ensuing spring; the thoughts he had of what was the true interest of his Majesty, the States, and the rest of Christendom upon this occasion: that his Majesty, by knowing his mind, should believe he knew a great deal of that of the States, and thought he might thereby be enabled to take such measures, as might be necessary for him in this conjuncture.

I obeyed this summons, spoke with Monsieur de Witt, entered into great confidences with him, made report of all to his Majesty at my arrival here; gave Monsieur de Witt the character I think he deserves, of a very able and faithful Minister to his State, and, I thought, a sincere dealer, very different from what Sir George Downing had given

Digitized by Google

of him at Court, who would have him pass for such another as himself, but only a craftier man in the trade than he.

Upon all this, his Majesty came last night to a resolution of the greatest importance which has yet passed, I think, here in any foreign affair, and begun the new year, I hope, with a good presage, and in which the new Ministry, particularly my Lord Keeper and my Lord Arlington, have had a very great part; mine will be to return immediately upon it into Holland, where, if it please God, I arrive and succeed, I expect a great deal of satisfaction by my errand, and much the greater by knowing that you will have a great deal in it too, as in an affair I remember to be so agreeable with what have been always your opinions.

The season of the year is bad, and the weather ill, and yet my sister has been so kind as to come with me hither from Brussels, and to resolve to return with me at this short warning to the Hague, which will be a great ease to me as well as satisfaction; and, by freeing me from all domestic cares, leave me the more liberty for those of my business, which, I foresee, will be enough to take up a better head than mine. My wife and children continue here till I see where my wandering planet is like to fix; but my brother Harry resolves to be of the party, and take this occasion of seeing Holland, and what is like to pass in the world upon this great conjuncture. I am called away, and have time only to add the constant professions of that duty, wherewith I am, and shall be ever, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 24, N. S. 1668.

Upon last Friday at night I gave your Lordship the account of what advance I had then made in

Digitized by Google

my negotiation, and of the point where it was then arrested, with desires of his Majesty's pleasure; whereupon, having spent that whole day in debates, I had little time left for that letter, but intended to make some amends for the haste of it, within two days, by a dispatch with the yacht, and, though delayed a little longer, will not, I hope, be more unwelcome by bringing your Lordship a fuller and final account, which may be allowed to surprise you a little there, since it is looked upon as a miracle here, not only by those that heard it, but even by the Commissioners themselves, who have had the whole transaction of it, which I shall now acquaint your Lordship with.

Upon my two first conferences with *Monsieur* de Witt, which were the Tuesday and Wednesday, I found him much satisfied with his Majesty's resolution concerning our neighbours; but of the opinion, that the condition of forcing Spain was necessary to our common end, and to clear the means towards it from all accidents that may arise. For the defensive league, he was of his former opinion, that it should be negotiated between us; but upon the project offered his Majesty at Schevelin, by which all matter of commerce might be so adjusted, as to leave no seeds of any new quarrels between the nations.

After two very long conferences upon these points, we ended with some difference upon the necessity of concluding both parts of my projects at the same time; but, for the rest, with great confidence and satisfaction in one another's sincere and frank way of treating, since the first overtures between us.

The first time I saw him, he told me I came upon a day he should always esteem very happy, both in respect of his Majesty's resolutions which I brought, and of those which the States had taken

Digitized by Google

about the disposal of the chief commands in their army, by making Prince Maurice and Monsieur Wurtz Camp-masters-general, and the Prince of Tarante and Rhingrave Generals of the horse, each to command in absence of the other. He told me all the detail of that disposition, but the rest I remember not well. I laid hold on this occasion (as indeed I thought was necessary) to say that his Majesty gave me order concerning the Prince of Orange; which he took very well, and said, was very obliging to the States; that, for his own part, he never failed to see the Prince once or twice a week, and grew to have a particular affection for him, and would tell me plainly, that the States designed the Captain-generalship of all the forces for him so soon as by his age he grew capable of it.

The next day was my audience, which passed with all the respect that could be given his Majesty's character; and the next morning began my conference with the eight Commissioners of secret affairs: I exposed my powers, and saw theirs, in pursuit whereof I offered them the project of the defensive league, as that which was to be the foundation of all farther negotiations, and without which perhaps neither of us should be very forward to speak our minds with confidence and freedom, in what concerned our neighbours, being likely therein to shock so great powers abroad: I told them, for the rest, his Majesty having resolved, as far as he could in honour, to comply with the sense of the States, in the offices of mediation between the two Crowns; I was first to expect from them the knowledge of the States resolution, in case they were already agreed.

I took this course in my first proposals, because I found here, that the Provinces were not yet resolved upon theirs, five of them only having fallen upon that of Monsieur de Witt; but Zealand be-

Digitized by Google

ing of opinion to agree with France for dividing Flanders; and Utrecht, for suffering France only to retain the last year's conquest, by way of *compromis*, till their pretensions were adjudged before competent arbiters to be agreed by the two Crowns, or by the joint mediators: and I was in hopes, that, knowing his Majesty's resolutions to join with them, before they were agreed among themselves, it might produce some counsels among them a little more favourable to Flanders, and consequently more honourable to his Majesty.

After my proposals, Monsieur de Witt was, by the rest of the Commissioners, desired to speak for them all in the conduct of our conferences; who, after a preamble of the usual forms, and compliments upon his Majesty's happy dispositions to enter into a nearer alliance with the States upon the mentioned points, declared the same resolution in the States, and, allowing our confidence by a defensive league for the basis of the rest, said, the States were very willing *de faire infuser les clauses pour la seureté commune dans les articles de la mediation;* and was large upon this argument, that, the last being of very pressing haste as well as necessity, and they having already order from their Provinces to proceed upon it, they could not have the same powers upon the defensive, being a new matter, under six weeks or two months time, but, as soon as they received them, would proceed to give their Ambassador in England powers to fall upon that treaty, which must, for a basis, have at the same time an adjustment of matters of commerce, for his forementioned reasons.

I thought fit to cut this matter short, and told them directly, I had no orders to proceed upon any other points, but in consequence or conjunction of the defensive league; in which I thought his Majesty had all the reasons that could be, both

Digitized by Google

because he would not venture a war's ending in Flanders to begin upon England; and on the other side knew the States, whose danger was nearer, would never be capable of taking any vigorous resolutions in their neighbours affairs, till they were secure at home by his Majesty's defence.

That his Majesty thought the most generous and friendly advance, that could be, was made on his side, by his proposition, being himself so much more out of danger than they were, and so much courted to a conjunction with France to their prejudice, as well as that of Flanders; that they had not made a difficulty of such alliances with Princes, who had lately *des melées* with them as well as his Majesty; and that, God be thanked, his Majesty was not in condition to have such an offer refused by any Prince or State of Christendom.

These were the sum of our discourses, though very long, and such as occasioned the Commissioners to withdraw thrice and consult together; though nothing was resolved, but that Monsieur de Witt and Monsieur Isbrant should spend the afternoon with me at my lodging, to endeavour the adjusting of circumstances between us, since we seemed to agree in substance.

That conference ended, as I gave your Lordship notice that evening, upon the point, that, instead of the project of Schevelin, or any new adjustment concerning marine affairs, the States would proceed upon his Majesty's project of a defensive league, provided the provisional articles in the Breda treaty might be inserted and perpetuated in this, and thereupon we should expect his Majesty's answer to what I should write that night.

The next being Saturday morning, I desired another conference with my two Commissioners, but could not have it till the afternoon, they being

Digitized by Google

to report that morning to the States what had passed the evening before. At our meeting after noon, they told me their communication of all to the States, and their Lordships resolution upon them, that it was necessary the articles provisional should be inserted in the treaty; so as I began to doubt a stop of all till his Majesty's answer, which subjected all to uncertainties: I knew the French Ambassador was grown into very ill humour upon my arrival, and fallen into complaints and expostulations with several of the States; and the more, because he could not see Monsieur de Witt from my coming over till that time, though he had often pressed it, and had an hour given him the next day; Monsieur de Witt having promised to see him, as he went to church after noon. Upon this I knew likewise he had dispatched a courier to Paris, which I thought would make no delay, and therefore resolved to fall upon all the instances and expedients I could, to draw up a sudden conclusion. I told them I desired it extremely, before I could hear again out of England, because I had left Monsieur Ruvigny very busy at my coming away, and not unbefriended; that I feared the same artifices of France to disturb us here, and perhaps Monsieur d'Estrades might, at his next meeting, endeavour to infuse some jealousies into them, by the relation of what had passed between your Lordship and Monsieur Ruvigny three or four days after the date of my first instructions; upon which I told them frankly (as his Majesty gave me leave) what had passed in that affair. Monsieur de Witt asked me whether I could shew him the paper drawn up between you; and, knowing I had it not, desired earnestly I would procure it him, assuring me no use should be made of it, but by joint consent: but saying, nothing would serve so far to justify them, in case of a breach growing

Digitized by Google

necessary between them and France, I promised to write to your Lordship about it, which I desire you will please to take notice of.

I told Monsieur de Witt, what confidence I had given his Majesty of his sincere proceedings, and how I had been supported by your Lordship in those suggestions, against the opinion of some other great men: what advantage these would take if they saw our whole negotiation was stopped upon a thing that looked like a *chicanerie*, since articles provisional till new agreements were in effect as strong as perpetual, which might itself be changed by new agreements: that this would be esteemed an artifice of his, especially since he had declared, upon my asking him, that it was his own opinion (and that he would tell the States so if they demanded it) not to conclude without insertion of those articles, which yet he could not deny to be of present force: for that they allowed; but seemed to doubt, that, referring in the treaty of Breda to a new treaty, they would be invalidated, if a new treaty should pass without their confirmation.

I found Monsieur Isbrant was content with my reasons, and said he would undertake his Province should be so; but Monsieur de Witt said, Holland and Zealand would not. I told them at last, that I was sure the States would not think fit to lose the effect of the league proposed upon such a point as this, and that they intended only to have the advantage of seeing his Majesty's resolution, in answer to my letter, before they concluded, with resolutions however, that this should not hinder at last: that I foresaw many things might arise in ten days time, to break all our good intentions, and some more than I had told them, or could at present; that, if they knew me, and how far I was to be trusted where I gave my word, I would propose

Digitized by Google

an expedient to them; but, being so new among them, I thought it was to no purpose: there I paused. They desired me I would propose however, and so I did; which was, That we should proceed to draw up the whole project, and sign as soon as was possible; and that, in case I afterwards received his Majesty's leave, in answer of my Friday's letter, to insert those provisional articles, I would freely declare it to them, and insert them in a separate article, to be a part of the defensive league. They both looked a while one upon another, and, after a pause, Monsieur de Witt gave me his hand, and, after a compliment upon the confidence he had taken in my face, and in the rest of my dealing since our first commerce, told me, that, if I would promise them what I had said *en homme de bien*, they would ask no farther assurance of me; and provided the treaty of Breda might be confirmed in the preamble of this, to take away all scruples of those articles being of less force than they were before; for his part, though he could promise nothing what the States would resolve, yet he would promise, that he and Monsieur Isbrant would use their utmost endeavours to induce them to proceed upon my proposition. And so we fell immediately to digest our project of the whole treaty: for I made no difficulty of the confirmation proposed, knowing that new treaties use to begin by confirmation of the old.

I am the larger in this relation, that his Majesty may know upon what reasons I engaged my word to them in this point, and thereupon may give me leave, without more circumstances, to be true to it, in case his Majesty's pleasure in the point be dispatched away to me, upon the receipt of my former letter.

After this difficulty well evaded, we found none but in this expression [*In case our persuasions to*

Digitized by Google

Spain should not prevail, and we should come à la force et à la constrainte], which I moderated at first by the words [*aux moyens plus durs*], and afterwards [*aux moyens plus efficaces*]; for we drew it up first in French: the other additions or enlargements, I dare presume, his Majesty will not be displeased with, no more than that article about Portugal, though I had no instruction in it. If I have failed in enlarging upon very short and hasty instructions, I most humbly beg his Majesty's pardon, because I am sure I kept myself, as close as was possible, to what I apprehended to be his Majesty's sense upon the whole and every part.

That evening, being Saturday, or rather that night and Sunday morning, we agreed upon the project in French, and gave order for the translating of it into Latin, which was done, and perused by me, and agreed to between twelve and one that night, and engrossed by eleven next morning, being Monday, and, at a meeting with the Commissioners, jointly was signed and sealed, and mutually delivered between two and three that afternoon; after that, time spent in comparing the instruments, and adjusting the sums, computed as the value of the several aids.

After sealing, we all embraced with much kindness and applause of my saying upon that occasion, *A Breda comme amis, icy comme freres:* and Monsieur de Witt made me a most obliging compliment, of having the honour, which never any other Minister had before me, of drawing the States to a resolution and conclusion in five days, upon a matter of the greatest importance, and a *secours* of the greatest expence they had ever engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitutions, which enjoined them recourse to their Provinces upon all such occasions, and used to draw out all common deliberations to months delays;

Digitized by Google

and added upon it, that, now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

I must add three words to do him right in return of his compliment, that I found him as plain, as direct, and square, in the course of this business, as any man could be; though often stiff in points where he thought any advantage could accrue to his country: and have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with him, and for his industry no man had ever more. I am sure, for these five days at least, neither of us spent any idle hours, neither day nor night.

After the conclusion, I received yesterday the visits of all the public Ministers in town, except the Ambassadors, between whom, and Envoys extraordinary, some difficulties were arisen (they say, here first begun by Sir George Downing) which have, in a manner, spoiled all commerce. None of the other failed to rejoice with me upon the conclusion of my business, and to express their adoring his Majesty's resolutions, which, in this conjuncture, they say, have given new life to all the Courts of Christendom, whose counsels were before in the greatest perplexities and disorder that could be. They say his Majesty will have the sole honour of giving either peace to Christendom, or a balance to the wars; and has shewn, that all must follow what he gives a head to. Much more of this kind I hear from all hands, and have no reason to doubt their meaning what they say.

Thus far I have given your Lordship the smooth side only of this conclusion, and now you must receive the rough: for, having concerted with the Commissioners, that Monsieur de Witt and I should give part of our treaty (all but the separate articles) to the French and Spanish Ambassadors; the first we performed this afternoon, the last we intend to-morrow morning.

Digitized by Google

The French Ambassador had been much surprized with our conclusion: for, upon our first conference with the Commissioners, he had said, *Tout cela s'en ira en fumée, et que le Roy son maitre s'en mocqueroit.* The day before our signing, being told we advanced very fast, he replied: *Et bien, d'icy à six semaines nous en parlerons,* relying upon the forms of the State, to run the circle of their towns.

Upon our giving him part of the whole business, he replied coldly, that he doubted we had not taken a right way to our end; that the fourth article of the second instrument was not in terms very proper to be digested by a King of twenty-nine years old, and at the head of eighty thousand men: that, if we had joined both to desire his Master to prolong the offer he had made of a cessation of arms till the time we proposed, and, withal, not to move his arms farther in Flanders, though Spain should refuse, we might hope to succeed; but, if we thought to prescribe him laws, and force him to compliance, by leagues between ourselves, or with Spain, though Sweden and the German Princes should join with us, he knew his Master *ne flecheroit pas,* and that it would come to a war of forty years. From this he fell a little warmly upon the proceedings of the States, saying, they knew his Master's resolutions upon those two points, neither to prolong the cessation proposed beyond the end of March, nor to desist the pursuit of his conquests with his own arms, in case Spain consented not to his demands within that term. He said, his Majesty, not being their ally, might treat and conclude what he pleased, without their offence; but for the States, who were their nearest ally, to conclude so much to his Master's disrespect at least, and without communicating with him the Ambassador at all during the whole treaty, he must leave

D'Estrades

Digitized by Google

it to his Master to interpret as he thought fit. Monsieur de Witt defended their cause, and our common intentions, with great phlegm, but great steadiness, and told me, after he was gone, that this was the least we could expect at first from a Frenchman; and that I should do well, however, to give his Majesty an account of it by the first, that we put ourselves early in posture, to make good what we have said; and that, as to the time and degree of our arming, he would consult with the States, and let me know their thoughts to be communicated to his Majesty upon this occasion.

I was in hopes to dispatch this away to-morrow morning, but I shall be hindered till night, by the delay of signing a separate article with the Count de Dona, whereby place is reserved for Sweden to enter as principal into this treaty: for I have gone along in the whole business, since my coming over, with perfect confidence and concert with the Count de Dona, upon his assuring me, his orders were to conform himself to his Majesty's resolution in what concerns the two Crowns, though, before he absolutely engages, he expects from the Spaniards, by our intercession, some supplies for payment of his troops, and some other adjustments with the Emperor, which will be treated between the several Ministers at London under his Majesty's influence. In what I shall sign upon this occasion, together with the States, I confess to your Lordship to go beyond my instructions; but apprehending it to be wholly agreeable to his Majesty's intentions, and extremely advantageous to the common ends and affairs, I venture upon this excess, and humbly beg his Majesty's pardon if I fail. Your Lordship will be troubled with some postscript to-morrow, before I dispatch an express with the copies to be ratified by his Majesty within a month, though, I hope, a less time will be taken, those of Holland

Digitized by Google

having undertaken theirs in fifteen days. I am, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 26, N. S. 1668.

SINCE the close of my long dispatch, I have every hour expected the copies to be transmitted for his Majesty's ratification, without being able to procure them. I cannot but imagine some occasion of the delay may have been a desire in them here to interpose some time between the receipt of my last Friday's letter and of this pacquet, to the end his Majesty may in the mean time have dispatched his orders to me about the provisional articles, though I cannot think they should be of such moment inserted or omitted to either side.

I now dispatch the inclosed copies of the treaty, in order to his Majesty's ratification, which it is generally desired may be returned as sudden as possibly; the States having undertaken to have theirs ready in fifteen days after the signing, and believing it necessary to proceed jointly and early to the mutual counsels of arming, in case France continues the dispositions they seem to be in at present of pursuing the war.

My brother, who will deliver this dispatch to your Lordship, is able to add what particular circumstances I may have omitted, or your Lordship shall think fit to enquire from this place; and what he fails, Count Dona will supply, who is a person well worth your Lordship's particular acquaintance and assistance in his negotiations, or at least the forms and entrances of them, being, in all points, our friend.

Yesterday the Spanish Ambassador received the communication of our treaties from Monsieur de Witt and me, with some descants upon the hardship of it, but, I believe, satisfaction at heart. I

Digitized by Google

have this day written at large, and with all the instance imaginable, to the Marquis de Castel Rodrigo to induce his consent, and, immediately upon the ratifications, shall away and pursue that point at Brussels.

I cannot but rejoice in particular with your Lordship upon the success of this affair, having observed in your Lordship, as well as my Lord Keeper, a constant steady bent, in supporting his Majesty's resolution, which is here so generally applauded as the happiest and wisest, that any Prince ever took for himself or his neighbours: what in earnest I hear every hour, and from all hands of that kind, is endless, and even extravagant. God of heaven send his Majesty's counsels to run on the same course; and I have nothing left to wish, since I know your Lordship will continue to esteem me what I am with so great passion and truth, my Lord, your, &c.

To Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 27, 1668.

THOUGH I know my long dispatch by this express to my Lord Arlington will give your Lordship your share of trouble, yet I could not omit the charging my brother with a particular attendance upon your Lordship from me, nor accompanying him with these acknowledgements of your Lordship's great favour and good opinion, even before I had the honour of being known to you. I will presume I have done nothing since to forfeit them, as I had nothing before to deserve them; and that my late good fortunes at the Hague will help to continue what my good fortune alone at Brussels began, and my five days stay at London served to improve in so great a degree. Yet, I will assure your Lordship, if I can make any farther advance

Digitized by Google

by the resentments of your favour, by my desires to deserve it in the return of my best services, or by the true honour and esteem of those qualities I have discovered in your Lordship, upon so short an acquaintance; I am very far upon my way already.

But I will leave this subject, in the first place, to congratulate with you upon another; which is the success of a counsel, wherein I observed your Lordship and my Lord Arlington to have the most steady bent, in promoting a resolution of his Majesty's which is on this side the water esteemed generally the happiest and the wisest that could ever have been taken by any Prince in such a conjuncture, and upon respects not only of his own affairs, but even those of all Christendom besides. It is not fit for me to tell you much of what I hear of this kind, or the applauses given to his Majesty and his Ministers upon this occasion: to tell you all, I am sure, would be endless; but, from what I hear, I cannot but raise at least a happy presage of a new year, and a new ministry's running on together, with a succession of the same honour and good fortunes both to his Majesty and his kingdoms.

In the next place, I will, according to your orders, give your Lordship an account of some particulars that fell into this great transaction, which I thought not fit to trouble my Lord Arlington with, as not perhaps proper, or of weight enough, for the view of his Majesty or the foreign committee, and yet worth the knowledge or reflection of some of his Ministers, in order to the conduct of his Majesty's counsels hereafter, both in this and other of his affairs.

I must tell your Lordship, that, in my first conference with Monsieur de Witt since my return, I began with telling him, that he could not but remember, when I passed this way last into England,

Digitized by Google

I told him, upon what points his Majesty desired, with the greatest secrecy that could be, to know his opinion, and by that to guess at what might be the States, upon the present conjuncture of affairs in Flanders; to the end his Majesty might accordingly take his own measures. That his Majesty guessed, by the general carriage and discourses of the Dutch Ambassadors at London, the States were not willing to see Flanders overrun by France, but could not find they had any thing positive to say to him upon that subject: that he had therefore sent me privately and plainly to tell him his mind upon it, as to a man of honour, and who he believed would make no ill use of it, and (if he thought fit) to know his sentiments upon that affair. That, for his Majesty, he neither thought it for his own interest nor safety, nor for that of the States, or of Christendom in general, that Flanders should be lost; and therefore was resolved to do his utmost to preserve it, provided the States were of the same mind, and that it might be done in conjunction between them; and to that end desired to know, whether the States would be content to enter into an alliance with him, both defensive between themselves, and offensive against France, for the preservation of Flanders. That he (Monsieur de Witt) might remember, his answer to me was; first, much applause of his Majesty's resolution, great acknowledgement of his confidence towards him by that communication, much assurance that the States would be of the same mind, as to the preservation of Flanders, which was their nearest interest next their own: that he found both his Majesty and the States had the same mind, as well as interest in this matter, but that the distrusts, remaining upon the late quarrel between them, had kept either of them from beginning to enter frankly upon it. But since

Digitized by Google

his Majesty had pleased to break it to him in a manner so obliging, though he could not pretend to tell me his Master's mind, yet he would his own: which was, that the defence of Flanders was absolutely necessary, but that it ought to be tried first, rather by a joint mediation of a peace between the two Crowns, than by a declaration of war; but that, if the first would not serve, it ought to come to the other. That I knew France had already offered a peace to the offices made by the States upon an alternative at the choice of the Spaniards; that he thought our mediation ought to be offered to both Crowns upon that foot, to induce France to make good their own offer, and Spain to accept it. And that to this purpose he thought it very necessary to make a strict alliance between his Majesty and the States.

That, for making an offensive alliance, it could not be; for it was a maxim observed by this State, never to make any, at least when they were in peace; that, for defensive leagues, they had them with many Princes, and he believed would be ready to enter into one with his Majesty; and, though he could not at all answer what would be the mind of the States upon these points, yet he had told me his; and would add, that he was not usually mistaken in theirs, and that he would at least use all his endeavours to bring the States to such opinions and resolutions.

When I had said this, and observed by his action and face that he assented to this recital of all that had passed between us; I asked him whether this was all right, that I might know whether I had mistaken nothing in representing his Majesty's meaning to him, nor his to his Majesty. He answered, that it was all right, and that he very well remembered it, and much commended a method

Digitized by Google

of proceeding so exact and sincere, by an endeavour to avoid all mistakes between us.

I then told him, that I had, upon my arrival in England, represented all as faithfully to his Majesty as I had done to him; and that upon it his Majesty had taken so much confidence in his (Monsieur de Witt's) opinion and judgment, as well as in his credit with the States, that he had taken a sudden and firm resolution upon it; first, to join with the States in the offer of a mediation between the two Crowns, and upon such terms as they and I should agree, but with a desire that they might be as advantageous as the States could be induced to, for the preservation of Flanders, and recovery of such places as should be most necessary to it. In the next place, to conclude a treaty, the strongest that could be between us, for obliging France to accept the peace upon those terms, and in the mean time for putting a stop to the course of their arms in Flanders. But that his Majesty thought it necessary to begin all this with a strict league between him and the States, for their own mutual defence, and to this purpose had sent me over as his Envoy to the States with full powers, and the draught of a defensive league between us; but refers the rest, for what touched Flanders, to what the States and I should agree.

Monsieur de Witt received this discourse with a countenance pleased, but yet, as I marked, something surprised, as if he expected not a return from his Majesty so sudden and so resolute. He said, that the States would be much pleased with the honour his Majesty did them, and the overture he made them; that I should chuse my time, whenever I desired it, for my audience; and would pass the forms of demanding it from the President of the week: that he was still confident the States

Digitized by Google

would enter with his Majesty into the mediation, though France gave them hopes of succeeding by their own: that the Provinces differed in opinion, upon what terms the peace should be made: that Utrecht was so bold as to think nothing but justice ought to be considered in the case, that all that France had conquered should be restored to Spain, and their pretensions be referred to judgment or arbitrage. But Holland, with most of the other Provinces, were of another mind, and considering their own present condition, as well as that of France, thought it best to keep the French to their own offer; but he believed would come to means of more force if France should recede from what they themselves had advanced to the States. That, for the defensive league between us, he did not know whether the late sore were yet fit for such an application, but would try the mind of the States. That he doubted they would think it like to prove too sudden a change of all their interests, and that which would absolutely break them off from so old and constant a friend as France, to rely wholly upon so new and uncertain a friend, as England had proved.

I told him, that the doing what he said, would be the effect of any treaties of this nature between us, let them be as tenderly handled and composed as we could: that France would take it as ill of us and of them, to be stopped in the remaining conquest of Flanders, as to be forced out of all they had already gained: that he knew very well, it had been long their design, at any price, to possess themselves of the Spanish Netherlands; and he knew as well that it was their interest to do so, considering the advantages it would give them over all the rest of Christendom; that it was as much our interest to hinder it, and that nothing could do it, but a firm conjunction between us:

Digitized by Google

that the States part would be next after Flanders was gone, and therefore they had now as much need of being protected by England against France, as they thought they had three or four years ago of being protected by France against England; and that they had no other choice, but either continuing their friendship with France till they should see both Flanders and themselves swallowed up by such a neighbour, or else change their whole measures, and enter into the strictest alliance with his Majesty for the preservation of both; and let France take it as they pleased.

Monsieur de Witt confessed the designs of France for the conquest of Flanders; spoke of the treaties they had made with the States in Cardinal Richlieu's time, and lately offered again, for *partaging* it between them; and said, he understood very well the danger of such a counsel and neighbourhood, or else he should have fallen into them; but the ventures were great on the other side too; that the States were much more exposed than the King; that the Spaniards were weak, and ill to be trusted by the States, between whom there had never yet been any better measures than barely those of the Munster peace, after so great rancours and long hostilities. That, though he believed the German Princes would be glad of what his Majesty proposed, yet he knew not how far Sweden might be engaged in the measures with France, who lay here at their backs in the duchy of Bremen. And, last of all, though this resolution seemed now to be taken by his Majesty and his Ministers, upon the surest and wisest foundations, which were those of true interest and safety; yet no man knew how long they might last. That, if they should break all their measures with France, and throw themselves wholly upon his Majesty by such a conjunction, any change of counsels in England would be their

Digitized by Google

certain ruin. That he knew not this present ministry, and could say nothing to them; but that he knew the last too well. Upon which he said a good deal of our uncertain conduct since his Majesty's return, and concluded that the unsteadiness of counsels in England seemed a fatal thing to our constitution; he would not judge from what grounds, *mais que depuis le temps de la Reyne Elisabet, il n'y avoit eu qu'une fluctuation perpetuelle en la conduite de l'Angleterre, avec laquelle on ne pouvoit jamais prendre des mesures pour deux années de temps.* After this ended with some melancholy that looked a little irresolute. I told him, that as to their own interests, he knew them, and could weigh them better than I; that, after my audience and first conference with Commissioners, I should quickly see how the States would understand them, in which I knew very well how great a part he would have: that for our danger, I confessed they would be first exposed to France, and we the last, which made it reasonable they should make the first pace to their safety. That for Sweden, I had no orders to negotiate with them; but, being fully instructed in his Majesty's general intentions, I should be glad to see them strengthened all I could; and to that purpose, if he thought fit, I would talk with the Count de Dona, the Swedish Ambassador here, and see whether he had any powers to engage their Crown in any common measures for the safety of Christendom; that, if by such a conjunction we could extend it to a triple alliance among us, upon the same foundation, I believed he would think it too strong a bar for France to venture on. That, for the unsteadiness of our counsels, I would rather bewail than defend it; but that I should not have made this journey, if I had not been confident that had been ended, and

Digitized by Google

we now bottomed past any change or remove. That I could not pretend to know any body's mind certainly but my own; but that upon this matter I was as confident of his Majesty's, of your Lordship's and my Lord Arlington's, as I was of my own. Upon this occasion I said a great deal, not only of the interests, but resentments, that had engaged his Majesty and his Ministers in this counsel; and concluded that I was confident it could never break, but would answer, if ever it did, it should never be by my hand, and was as confident I might answer the same for your Lordship and my Lord Arlington, and that you would fall or stand upon this bottom.

Monsieur de Witt seemed much satisfied with what I had said; assured me, for his part, he would give his hands towards a good conclusion of this affair: that he would trust his Majesty's honour and interest upon so great a conjuncture, as well as the sincereness and constancy of his Ministers, whom he could judge of by no other lights but what I gave him; made me compliments upon the great confidence he had taken in me and my manner of dealing, by what he had heard and seen of me since the first visit I made him in my passage here, after the end of the war; and concluded that I should see the Count Dona, and try how far Sweden was to be engaged in this affair.

I tell your Lordship all these circumstances, that, knowing where the difficulties have been, how they have been overcome, and upon what advances on my side this knot has been tied, your Lordship and my Lord Arlington may the better know how to support this affair, and make many others easy, by recovering the credit of our conduct in England, so far lost by the unsteadiness too truly laid to our charge; and at least by your own constancy, in

Digitized by Google

what you have begun, make good the characters you have already in the world, and the assurances I have given Monsieur de Witt upon your occasion.

That evening I went to the Count Dona, and ran over all ceremonies of our characters, by going straight into his chamber, taking a chair, and sitting down by him before he could rise out of his. I told him I hoped he would excuse the liberty upon an errand wherein I thought both our Masters were concerned; that ceremonies were intended to facilitate business, and not to hinder it; that I knew nothing to make my seeing the other Ambassadors at the Hague necessary, and so was content with the difficulties had been introduced between our characters; but, thinking it absolutely for my Master's service to enter into confidence with his Excellency upon my errand here, I had resolved to do it in this manner, and, if he gave me leave, would pursue it as if our acquaintance and commerce had been of never so long a date.

The Count embraced me, gave me great thanks for the honour I did him, made me compliments upon so frank and confident a manner as I used with him; and said he was ready to return it upon any thing that I should think fit to communicate to him.

After this I entered into the detail of my whole progress to that time, both in England and here; of his Majesty's reasons, of the common interests of Christendom, of the reception my errand found from Monsieur de Witt, and the hopes I had of succeeding: of our discourses about engaging Sweden in the same measures, and a desire of extending our league into a triple alliance among us, for our own mutual defence, the safety of Flanders, and thereby of Christendom. That I knew how the Crown of Sweden had been treated of late

Digitized by Google

years by France, how close they had kept to the friendship with his Majesty, and how beneficial, as well as honourable, such a part as this might prove to them, by the particular use they might be of to the Crown of Spain; and that, upon any good occasion, they might be sure of his Majesty's offices and the States, who resolved to enter into this affair without any other interest than that of the preservation of Flanders, and thereby of their own safety, and the common good.

The Count Dona professed to applaud his Majesty's counsel, to be confident that Sweden would be content to go his pace in all the common affairs of Christendom, which he was assured of by his own instructions in general; but that, such an affair as this not being foreseen, he could have none upon it: that, if it succeeded, he would make all the paces he could to engage his Master in it, as what he thought of honour and advantage to the common safety: but that he would return my frankness to him with the same to me, in telling me that he doubted my bringing it to an issue: that he first doubted Monsieur de Witt's resolution, to break upon any terms with France, and close with England; not only considering what had lately passed between us, but the interests of the house of Orange, which, he must ever believe, would, at one time or other, be advanced by us; whereas he was sure to be supported against them by France: therefore he believed, though he would not oppose it, because the States and people might run into it; yet he would find some means to elude the conclusion or effect of it, without appearing himself in any such design: that, in the next place, since such a treaty could not be made by the States-General, without first being sent to all the Provinces and towns for their approbation, and orders upon it to their deputies; he did not see how it

Digitized by Google

was possible for the French Ambassador to fail of engaging some towns or Provinces against it, and the opposition of any one of them would lose the effect; since no new treaty could be made, by the constitutions here, without an universal consent. That, however, he would not discourage me, but wish me success with all his heart, upon many reasons, and, among others, as being so much a servant to the house of Orange, which could not but profit by a conjunction between England and Holland: and again promised, whenever I brought it to a period, to use all his endeavours, and stretch his powers as far as he could, towards engaging his Master in the same measures with us.

In the second conference I had with Monsieur de Witt, I acquainted him with what had passed with Count Dona, which he seemed much pleased with; and said, though we could not expect he should have powers so general as to conclude such an affair, yet an instrument might be drawn up between us, whereby room may be left for Sweden to enter as a principal into our alliance; and the Count de Dona had so much credit at his Court, to recommend it there so as to succeed, especially upon the hopes we must give him of obtaining subsidies from Spain, which might countervail what they might lose from France upon this occasion.

I then fell upon the form of concluding this treaty; saying, I could easily foretel the fate of it, if it must pass the common forms of being sent by the several deputies to all their principals for their result upon it: that I knew this would take up a month or six weeks time, and that nothing would be so easy as for the French Ambassador to meet with it in running that circle, and by engaging some one member, perhaps by money thrown among the chief persons in some of the

Digitized by Google

small towns, to prevent and ruin a counsel of the greatest importance to Christendom, as well as to our two nations, that had been on foot in many ages: that unless the States-General would conclude and sign the treaty immediately, and trust to the approbation of their several Provinces and towns after it was done, I should give it for gone, and think no more of it.

Monsieur de Witt seemed to think this impossible; said no such thing had ever been done since the first institution of their commonwealth; that, though it was true, the States-General might sign a treaty, yet they could not ratify it without recourse to their principals, and that they should venture their heads in signing it, if their principals, not approving it, should question them for doing it without orders; that he hoped the forms might be expedited in three weeks time, and that all care that could be, should be taken to prevent the addresses of the French Ambassador among the Provinces.

I cut the matter short, and told him, I continued of my first opinion, to see it immediately agreed between me and the Commissioners, and then signed by the States, which might be done in four or five days; and that the deputies might safely trust to the approbation of their principals in a point of so great and evident public interest: that, for my part, I knew not how this delay, and thereby hazard, of the affair might be interpreted in England, nor what change in my orders it might produce: that I had now powers to conclude an alliance of the last consequence to the safety of Flanders and this State; that, if it should miscarry by the too great caution of the deputies in point of form, for aught I knew they might venture their heads that way, and more deservedly, than by signing at present what, all of them believed, would

Digitized by Google

not only be ratified, but applauded by their principals. With this I left him; and the rest that passed in the progress of this affair, as well as in my audience, or with the Commissioners, your Lordship has it in my dispatch to my Lord Arlington, to whom you will please to communicate these more secret springs; that, by knowing the conception, the forming, the throws, and birth of this child, you may the better consult how it is to be nourished till it grow to strength, and thereby fit to atchieve those great adventures for which it seems designed.

I am ever, with equal passion and truth, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant.

To Mr. Godolphin.

Sir, Brussels, Jan. 28, N. S. 1668.

THOUGH the interruption of our commerce hath been long, yet I thought it necessary to renew it at this time, and thereby let you know what has lately broken it on my side, that you may not believe any interruption of yours has had a worse effect upon me of late, than it ever had before, being an accident I have often been subject to. About the end of last month, N. S. I passed through this place with private commission from his Majesty, to sound the mind of the States in what concerns the present quarrel between the two Crowns, and how they were disposed to join with him in the share of a war, or project of a peace, to be endeavoured by our joint offices between them. From hence I went to London, with the private account of what I had in charge. After five days stay there, I was dispatched back, as his Majesty's Envoy extraordinary to the States, with full power to treat and conclude upon those points which his Majesty

Digitized by Google

esteemed necessary for our common safety, and the repose of Christendom, in this conjuncture. Upon the 6th I arrived here, had my first audience on the 18th, and on the 23d were signed by me, and the Commissioners given me by the States with full powers, three several instruments of our present treaty: the first containing a league defensive and perpetual between his Majesty and the States, against all persons without exception, that shall invade either of them, with agreement to furnish each other, upon occasion, with forty ships of war, of which, fourteen between sixty and eighty guns, and four hundred men a-piece, one with another; fourteen between forty and sixty guns, and three hundred men a-piece; and, of the other twelve, none under thirty-six guns, and a hundred and fifty men: besides this, with six thousand foot, and four hundred horse, or money instead of them, at the choice of the invaded, and to be repaid within three years after the end of the war; the proportions of money to the several parts of the said aid being ascertained in the treaty.

The second instrument contains our joint obligations to dispose France to make peace in Flanders, upon one of the alternatives already proposed; and likewise to dispose Spain to accept it, before the end of May; but, in case of difficulty made by them, to dispose France, however, to stop all farther progress of its own arms there, and leave it wholly to the allies to procure the ends proposed in this league.

The third instrument contains certain separate articles between his Majesty and the States, signed at the same time, and of the same force with the treaty, but not to be committed to letters.

It is hardly imaginable, the joy and wonder conceived here, upon the conclusion of this treaty, brought to an issue in five days, nor the applause

Digitized by Google

given to his Majesty's resolution, as the wisest and happiest that could, in this conjuncture, be taken by any Prince, both for his own and his neighbours affairs; nor are the reflections upon the conduct of it less to the advantage of the present ministry in England; the thing being almost done here as soon as my journey was known in London, and before my errand was suspected by any public Minister there.

Three days after our signing, the Swedish Ambassador signed another instrument jointly with me and the States Commissioners, obliging his Master to enter as a principal into the same alliance, so soon as some pretensions he has from the Emperor and Spain are satisfied by our good offices between them. After which Count Dona parted as Ambassador likewise from that Crown for England, where the rest of that affair will be negotiated; and in his company my brother Henry Temple, with the whole account of my business, and the treaties signed in order to their ratification, for which a month is allowed, though the States promise theirs within fifteen days after the date. When those arrive and are exchanged, I return to my residence at Brussels, to see the issue of this business, which now takes up the thoughts and discourse of all Christendom, and from which most Princes will resolve to take their measures.

I suppose my Lord Sandwich upon his way, and therefore content myself only with giving you this trouble, and the professions of my being, Sir, your, &c.

To the King.

Hague, Jan. 29, N. S. 1668.

May it please your Majesty,

In my last passage hither, I had the honour of trying your Majesty's yacht, in such a storm as that

Digitized by Google

never felt before, and a greater no man in her pretended ever to have seen. The fortune of your Majesty's affairs helped us to the discovery of a pilot-boat at a distance from the coasts, that brought us happily in; without which, we had passed such another night at sea, as I should not care to do for any thing your Majesty could give me, besides your favour, and the occasions of serving you: if we had miscarried, your Majesty had lost an honest diligent Captain and sixteen poor seamen, so beaten out with wet and toil, that the compassion, I had then for them, I have still about me, and assure your Majesty, that five or six more will be necessary for your yacht, if you use her to such passages as this; but, for the rest, I believe there is not such a boat in the world. She returns with a long but final and happy account of my business to my Lord Arlington, and with the Count de Dona, who will be better company than a long ill letter, and deserves your Majesty's welcome by his other qualities, as well as his particular devotions for your Majesty's person and service.

I cannot end this letter without congratulating with your Majesty upon the success of your resolution which occasioned my journey hither, and which is generally applauded here as the wisest and happiest, both for your kingdoms and your neighbours, and the most honourable to your Majesty's person, that ever was taken upon any occasion, by any Prince: and the strange success of it hath been answerable to the rest of your Majesty's fortunes, and so amazing, that the expressions made of it here, every hour, are altogether extraordinary, not to say extravagant.

God of heaven continue your Majesty's good health, and good counsels, and good fortunes; and then I shall have nothing more to wish, but that

Digitized by Google

you may pardon the faults, and accept of the humble and hearty devotions of, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subject and servant.

To Monsieur Gourville.

Hague, Feb. 7, N. S. 1668.

I HAVE just received (by the Rhingrave's favour) yours of the 28th past, and am extreme glad to have yet some place in your memory, after so many diversions in Germany, which use to make one forget things of much greater importance. But all this was necessary to comfort me for your absence, which I believe you have ordered, with design for all my journeys into Holland; this is now the third I have made since that of Breda, without ever meeting you there; you, I say, who are not able to live three months without going thither, though you are forced for it to leave the Ladies and the orange-trees at Brussels.

I can tell you no news; the Duke of Lunenburg's Resident having assured me that he has sent you word of the conclusion of our treaty here, whereof I every day expect the ratifications. They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities, for having finished and signed in five days a treaty of such importance to

A Monsieur de Gourville.

De la Haye, 7 Fevr. S. N. 1668.

JE viens de recevoir, par les soins obligeans de Monsieur le Rhingrave, votre lettre du 28 du passé; & je me rejoüis extremement d'occupier encore quelque place dans votre souvenir, après tant de divertissemens goutez en Allemagne; ce ne seroit pas la premiere fois qu'ils auroient fait oublier des choses plus importantes que ma personne: mais il ne falloit pas moins que les plaisirs que je say que vous avez goutez, & la nouvelle marque que vous me donnez de votre amitié, pour me consoler de votre absence; je croy au reste que vous l'aviez concertée avec tous mes voyages en Hollande; car voici le troisieme que j'y fais depuis celuy de Breda, sans vous y trouver, vous dis-je, qui ne pouviez passer trois mois sans y aller, quand même il auroit fallu pour cela quitter vos orangers & les mignonnes de Bruxelles.

Je n'ay point de nouvelles à vous mander; le Resident de Lunebourg m'ayant assuré qu'il vous avoit appris la conclusion du traité que nous avons fait icy: j'attens de jour en jour les ratifications. On veut à toute force me faire passer icy pour habile homme, à cause que j'ay achevé & signé en cinq jours un traité si important pour toute la Chré-

Digitized by Google

Christendom; but I will tell you the secret of it: to draw things out of their center requires labour and address to put them in motion; but, to make them return thither, nature helps so far, that there needs no more than just to set them a-going. Now, I think, a strict alliance is the true center of our two nations. There was also another accident, which contributed very much to this affair, and that was, a great confidence arisen between the Pensioner and me; he is extremely pleased with me, and my sincere open way of dealing; and I with all the reason in the world am infinitely pleased with him upon the same score; and look on him as one of the greatest genius's I have known, as a man of honour, and the most easy in conversation, as well as in business. In short, the two nations are closer united than if there never had been a war. For affairs in general I can tell you nothing, but that our common design is to give peace to all Christendom, so that if France pleases, they may have it this spring; if not (as Monsieur d'Estrades says, at least not after our fashion) they may have their fill of the war. For the convention at Aix, I can tell you nothing till we get an answer from France and Brussels, where we have already sent advice of our defensive league, and of our treaty or project of the peace.

tienté: mais je vous diray le secret; quand on arrache les choses de leur centre, il faut du tems & de la peine, & même de l'addresse pour les faire mouvoir; mais lors qu'il n'est question que de les y ramener, la nature y aide si puissamment, qu'il ne faut quasi que leur donner le branle: or, je croy qu'une étroite alliance est le centre de nos deux nations. Il y a encore un accident qui a fort contribué à cette affaire; c'est la parfaite confiance qui nous a reciproquement uni, Monsieur le Pensionnaire & moy: il se loue de moy & de ma maniere d'agir, qui, comme vous savez, est toujours franche & ouverte; & moy, je me loue infiniment de luy; j'en ay toutes les raisons du monde, & je dois à toute sa conduite les éloges qu'il donne à la mienne: je le regarde comme un des plus grand genies que j'ay connus, avec cela, très homme de bien; d'un commerce également aisé soit dans les negotiations, soit dans la conversation. Enfin la confiance est presentement retablie entre les deux nations; & je la croy même plus entiere que s'il n'y avoit jamais eu de guerre. Pour les affaires génerales, je ne vous saurois dire autre chose, si non, que notre dessein unanime est de donner la paix & la tranquillité à toute la Chrétienté; de sorte que si la France le veut, elle l'aura ce printems; si elle ne le veut pas (ainsi que dit Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades, qui ajoute, que du moins ce ne sera pas d'une paix de notre façon) elle aura tout son saoul de guerre. Touchant la convention à Aix jusqu'à ce que

Digitized by Google

This at least may serve for a new health at your German feasts, when the old ones are gone round; and will at the same time help to put you in mind of, Sir, your, &c.

nons ayons response de France & de Bruxelles, je ne vous en saurois rien dire. Nous leur avons deja donné avis de notre ligue defensive, & de notre traité ou projet de paix.

Du moins cecy servira à fournir une nouvelle santé dans vos festins Allemans, lorsque les anciennes auront fait leur ronde accoutumée; & cela vous fera en même tems souvenir de, Monsieur, votre, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 12, N. S. 1668.

THE arrival of the ratifications here was received with the same dispositions of general satisfaction and joy, that the treaty was concluded: those of the States will, I doubt, be something later ready, though occasioned only by a delay in the assembly of the States of Friezland and Zealand; but new dispatches were yesterday sent away for hastening both; and Monsieur de Witt assures me, the 20th of this month will be the latest I shall expect them, and he hopes all may be ready something sooner. I shall press it all I can possibly, and, immediately after the exchange made, shall demand my audience of *Congé*, and away to Brussels to pursue his Majesty's instructions there; I cannot tell with what success, because I know not with what mien the Marquis has entertained our project of the peace, nor yet having heard one word from him in answer to all I have writ upon this subject. I wish some of his visions may not give it another face than what it ought, I am sure, to receive from the true present state of the Spanish affairs; for, in that case, I know his way of arguing so well, as to expect he should say there is no reason for them to

Digitized by Google

give money to lose their towns; but that, in case his Majesty will enter into their defence, he shall want no money the Indies can give him; therefore, he must be plied on that side by the Count of Molina and Baron de l'Isola, as well as by me here; and not only disposed to accept the alternative, but to receive it as the greatest effect at present of his Majesty's good-will to the preservation of Flanders, and step towards a future defensive league between us and them, and Holland, for the general safety of the Spanish Crown.

Though I shall not fail of my part in pressing all these points on this side, yet the impressions will be easier given the two Ministers there than the Marquis here, as persons something more substantial in their conceptions upon this point; and will have more weight upon his Excellency, coming from their own Ministers, than from me: for the point of money to be furnished by the States upon the towns of Guelderland, the whole matter was dismissed by Monsieur de Witt till the Marquis's acceptance of our project was declared; upon which the Baron de Bargeyck will return to pursue it, and, in case of a war, by obstinacy of the French refusal, I doubt not but the matter will be easy, the Marquis offering Ruremond and Venlo, though Monsieur de Witt insists, as yet, upon the fort of Gelre, and two others by Sluys, which the Marquis says he has no power to treat upon.

For their opinion of the French expedition into the Franche Compté they seem little startled at it, believing it may the more incline the Spaniards to receive our offices for the peace according to the treaty; and that possibly some exchange may be found convenient for the Spaniards between parts of the Franche Compté and those towns of Flanders which are now in the French possession, and lie in the very bowels of the rest of that dominion;

Digitized by Google

which are Courtray, Tournay, Oudenard, and Aeth; for the rest, they resolve to make good the peace to the Spaniards, without the loss of any thing more, than was actually in the French hands at the time of our treaty being signed, whatever new progresses they may make before the conclusion; and, in case France shall refuse, or seek evasions, I do not believe they will be the least backward from entering into the war.

I should formerly have marked that all which is digested in our treaty, and that is to pass in our negotiation with France upon this occasion, the States avoid calling our parts a mediation; because they say that seems to import a neutrality, whereas, upon the failing of our offices towards a peace, we are to take our parts in a war.

For the method and manner of our joining together in pursuit of the war, if it grow to engage us by the French refusal, Monsieur de Witt tells me frankly his opinion is, for us to enforce the towns of Flanders by such of our troops as will be necessary to defend them, or at least to draw on long and expensive sieges, and, in the mean time, with our several fleets to make the sharpest impressions we can upon some of their coasts, and seize some of their towns, and force them that way to necessary divisions and diversions of their forces, as well as give countenance to whatever discontents may arise among them at home, upon such an occasion. Upon my arguing that an impression would be the sharper and the safer, perhaps, if it were made by our fleets in one place, but with joint forces; he said, he did not see how our fleets could possibly join, for the point of the *pavillon;* and fell into a good deal of discourse upon that matter, as the only, now left, that could ever occasion any dispute among us; being, at length, bottomed upon our mutual interest, and the wran-

Digitized by Google

gling about little points of commerce being taken away. All I could draw from him upon the point of the *pavillon* was, that they would give all to the King's ships at sea, which theirs or any other Ambassadors gave to his own person in his kingdom, where his dominion was as absolute as he could pretend it to be in the narrow seas; which is, to uncover first, and cover last; so that all their ships should vail to ours when they met, in case ours would in return take down the *pavillon* as a civility to theirs afterwards; and theirs should remain vailed, till we had set up our *pavillon* again. I told him I could say nothing to that matter, which I knew was very delicate; but that, if ever we agreed in that point, I thought it must not be by articles or treaties, but by concert between the Ministers of each side; as for the States, first to give absolute orders to all their Captains to vail to the King's ships, whenever they met them in the narrow seas; and, at the same time, to signify so much to his Majesty in a letter of compliment, and as a resolution taken upon consideration of so near and happy an alliance, as was now entered into between the nations: upon which his Majesty might consider, what returns of civility he would be content his Captains should make an ally so near, as this State was now likely ever to be to the Crown of England.

Monsieur de Witt was willing to fall into any expedient, and said, that, whenever I came into England, he would hope I might bring this last matter to pass as happily as I had done all the rest; that his Majesty should find he would be wanting in nothing that the point of civility or deference might require in this matter, provided it were without acknowledging our pretensions to the dominion of the sea, which they must die rather than do; but, in what should pass, they would

Digitized by Google

leave us to our interpretations, and keep themselves to theirs.

For the provisional articles, according to my word, which made way for the treaty's conclusion, I told Monsieur de Witt his Majesty had in his answer given me leave to do it, with an article for the meeting of Commissioners, at both parties desire, to complete what should be defective, and change what should be found inconvenient, and cut off any thing that should be superfluous, so as it might appear to be an original treaty between us, which would be more for our honour than to copy after the French: that, though his Majesty had given me this leave, in compliance to the States, yet he had rather the thing should now be left to Commissioners for these ends, than concluded with reference to them hereafter. I made his Majesty's concession in this point easy for these two ends; that either they, finding his Majesty indifferent in it, might grow so too; men being commonly apt to pull the harder, the faster another holds: or else (if they resolved to insist upon it, since I was already engaged) to value a thing which costs his Majesty nothing for as much obligation as I could to the States, which might make way for some material return upon another occasion.

Monsieur de Witt seemed very much pleased at his Majesty's compliance with them in this point; and said, if I knew his Majesty's pleasure in any particulars which he desired should be added, or any others changed for common convenience, he desired me to tell him, and doubted not but we should end it in twenty-four hours; but he was unwilling it should fall into other hands, or remain undone, for the reasons I mentioned in one of my last. After much discourse, and no way left to avoid the thing, we agreed it should be done, but with an ample article for the meeting of Commis-

Digitized by Google

sioners for those foresaid ends; and, after the perpetuity, I will endeavour to get in these words, *Aut quousque saltem ex utriusque partis consensu indicentur commissarii,* or some words to that purpose. And likewise, in the preamble of this separate instrument, some expressions of this kind: *Ut omnibus innotescat quam sincerâ sanctâque fide nuper contractæ amicitiæ, non modo in præsens, sed in posteros, colendæ cavere voluerunt:* and, *ad divellenda penitus quæcunque non modo dissensionum, sed et litium et altercationum semina:* and, *ad præcidendam spem omnem, et expectationem, quorumcunque, prædictam amicitiam novis altercationibus labefactatam iri, interesse possit.* Which are things that come now only into my head, but shall be digested against we meet to-morrow upon this occasion. And this is all that is possible for me to do in this matter, and which at least is likely to hasten the exchange of the ratifications, and to leave our alliance the clearest, firmest, and most confident, that can be. I confess I am troubled that it cannot be otherwise, because your Lordship says, his Majesty would rather have had it so: and, if you had not sent me, after the treaty's arrival, an explanation of what was written to me in an unintelligible cypher, it had been so, and my words had been safe; but I think it had been worse in leaving a dissatisfaction between us, which is now avoided: and I find my Lord Keeper, in a letter to me, seems to put no weight upon it, if done in the manner mentioned; and I know you both put a great deal upon any person's (employed by his Majesty) being, and passing for, an honest man.

No post going from hence till the end of the week, I have resolved to dispatch this by the yacht that brought over my brother, whose orders it seems are to return immediately: but I know not how to find the safe conveyance for the Dutch ratifica-

Digitized by Google

tions, unless another yacht be sent for them about a week or ten days hence; and to that end I shall leave them with Mr. Carter at my Lord Craven's house here, and who does all his Lordship's business, who shall deliver them to any person that brings a letter from your Lordship to that purpose. This, I think, will be much better, than to venture them with me in my journey to Brussels, or upon a passage from thence. I am ever, my Lord, yours, &c.

P. S. I had forgot the mention of this inclosed memorial, given in yesterday to the States, and by their order sent me with a compliment, They would receive nothing without communicating it to me: they resolve, upon the Marquis's answer for the treating at Aix, to send likewise thither, but refer the qualities or number of persons to the Marquis's intentions of going himself, or sending some delegate; and that I suppose will depend upon Don Juan's coming over. In the mean time, the States are absolutely of opinion with me, that no treaty can begin with good intentions on the French side, unless they consent to a suspension of arms while it lasts; and therefore, that the force of our joint instances at Paris is to be put upon that point.

To Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 12, N. S. 1668.

I RECEIVED by my brother the honour of your Lordship's, and therein the testimony of your favour to me in a manner so obliging, and indeed altogether extraordinary, that I know as little how to acknowledge, as to deserve it; and therefore I shall not enlarge myself upon a subject, where I am sure not to succeed as I desire; but leave it to time, and the constancy of my services, to express how very sensible I am of what I owe, and how

Digitized by Google

great a value I place upon that part your Lordship is pleased to allow me in your good opinion and memory, of which I beg the continuance, esteeming them among the very best of my possessions.

I have written to my Lord Arlington at large, upon the confidence of this safe conveyance by the return of the yacht, which will give your Lordship your share of trouble, but, withal, a full prospect of the dispositions here, and consequently the present as well as future estate of our alliance, if it be pursued with the same directness it has been contracted; and the happy continuance whereof, I am perfectly of your Lordship's mind, is the true interest of both nations, and will be the surest support of his Majesty's honour, and the kingdom's safety, as well as satisfaction. The expression your Lordship pleases to make, of endeavouring, in your station, the inviolable observation of it, I shall value, before I part, to Monsieur de Witt and the other Commissioners, as it deserves, which will be easy to do: for I dare say very truly, that the general opinion, conceived here of your Lordship's and my Lord Arlington's honour and sincerity, and unbiassed pursuit of the true interest of the kingdom, has very much contributed to the success of my late negotiation, and been indeed the spring of any honour, that your Lordship or any others may attribute to me in the conduct of it.

It will not become me to take no notice of those repeated offers your Lordship pleases to make, in a fashion so extremely obliging, to favour me in any of my own concernments; and therefore I shall humbly recommend to you the countenancing my wife in her pursuing the payment of my ordinary allowances while I am abroad; since the narrowness of my own fortunes (while it pleases God to continue my father's life to us) will not suffer me to serve his Majesty without troubling

Digitized by Google

him, as I am forced to do, whenever five or six months of my ordinaries are grown in arrears. Therefore, upon your Lordship's engagement, I will tell my wife, she may beg your countenance to her when she begins her next pursuit of that kind; and, that you may the more confidently own your favouring me in this point, I will assure your Lordship, his Majesty shall never be troubled with any pursuits of mine, farther than what he has pleased to make my due, by any ordinary establishment, though lower than that of a much cheaper country, as I am informed; but that is very indifferent to me; for I am perfectly content to live just in the posture his Majesty thinks fit I should, while I serve him; and very willing to spend his allowance and my own revenue, but no more; which is the plain truth of my story. And, I doubt, now the funds at Antwerp fail, out of which I have been hitherto paid by my Lord Arlington's favour to me, something against the Commissioners inclination, I may find longer attendances upon the Exchequer, for that is grown or growing due, than my occasions will suffer, which makes me use this liberty to your Lordship; though I should not have done it, had you not now twice, and of yourself, encouraged me.

For the obliging message my brother brought me likewise from your Lordship's favour to me, besides my acknowledgements, I shall only say that* what your Lordship pleased to mention, would be as agreeable to my inclinations as any thing I know; but I shall never presume to ask any thing of that kind from his Majesty, no more than of any other, referring my station, and every thing else, wholly to his pleasure and choice, while I have the honour of serving him: besides, I find

* It was that he should be Secretary of State.

Digitized by Google

every body here and in Flanders designs another post for me, at least for a month or two this spring, if the treaty happens to be at Aix; believing, that, having had so much part in what has been done already, I am likely to have some part in that too: and I confess, because people are fallen into this thought, I may take the contrary for a mark of his Majesty's not being satisfied with me in what is past; and, because I am by advance instructed in the business, and acquainted with persons, I should be very well pleased with it, if his Majesty finds none to serve him better, especially if, by the Marquis's going thither himself, his Majesty should find it fit to send a person of great quality to maintain the port of the employment, and give me my part under his shade.

I am ashamed to have said all this of myself and my concernments; and beseech your Lordship to remember, that you have drawn it all from me; and, after that, to forget it all, if you please. For, to say the truth, I am very well as I am, being of so dull a complexion, that I do not remember any station or condition of life I have been in these dozen years, which I have not been pleased with, and a little unwilling to leave. However, what thoughts of this kind your Lordship shall have of me, I desire you will please to communicate them to my Lord Arlington, to whose favour I have been long obliged: and whatever your two Lordships shall think fit in my disposal, will be ever perfectly welcome to, my Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 13, N. S. 1668.

Since the writing of your Lordship's letter, and the sealing up of my Lord Arlington's pacquet, I have been so far pressed by my Monsieur de Witt,

Digitized by Google

to send him the article for meeting Commissioners, I desired might be added to the provisional articles in a new instrument, that I have been fain to digest it as well as I could, according to my Lord Arlington's instructions and your Lordship's since given me in your letter. I thought fit likewise to draw up a preamble to it, whereby it might appear, that the intention of this agreement was only an effect of our mutual kindness, and for prevention of any disputes that might possibly arise to interrupt it, and for cutting off all our enemies hopes ever to see us any more make way for their ends by our future dissension. I will send your Lordship a copy on the other side of this sheet, of both preamble and article, which I have been forced to draw up as hastily as I could; and hope, if Monsieur de Witt thinks fit to pass it in this form, it will be in all points of more honour and advantage to us, even than to have had it all omitted. I desire your Lordship to communicate all this to my Lord Arlington, and to excuse this trouble, by reason of his Lordship's pacquet being already sealed up. I am ever, &c.

Procemium tractatûs inter Anglos et Hollandos, Feb. 13, 1668.

QUANDOQUIDEM, annuente divinâ gratiâ, et conspirante mutuarum rerum salute, æquè ac Christiani orbis jam temporis necessitate, vigesimo tertio die Januarii proximè elapsi, inter serenissimum —— et —— conclusum et signatum sit fœdus perpetuum defensivum, fortissimis utrinque tam mari quam terrâ præstandis auxiliis communitum. Eodemque die alioque instrumento, de rerum vicinarum tranquillitate, pacequè orbi Christiano restituendâ, inter prædictum —— et —— pronis animis consultum et conventum fuerit, adeoque nihil aliud protinus superesse videatur, quod

Digitized by Google

tam mutuâ voluntate conflatam amicitiam et necessitudinem ullo demùm tempore interpellare poterit, præter controversias de mercimoniorum speciebus hinc inde redigendis forsitan orituras, et ex incertâ vel ambiguâ ejusmodi rerum utrinque adjudicatione forsitan etiam promovendis. Quo autem omnibus innotescat quàm sincerâ sanctâque fide prædictus — et — nuper conflatæ amicitiæ non modò in præsens sed et ad posteros colendæ cavere voluerint, jamdemum ad divellenda quæcunque non modò dissensionum sed vel altercationum semina, præcidendamque penitus eorum spem aut expectationem quoruncunque demùm prædictam amicitiam novis litibus concussam aut labefactatam iri, interesse poterit: in subsequentes articulos utrinque conventum est, qui pro normâ et regulâ ejusmodi rerum maritimarum et mercaturæ hinc inde redigendæ mutuò et perpetuò observabuntur, aut quousque saltem ex utriusque partis arbitrio et consensu Commissarii indicentur et conveniant, ad uberiorem eis de rebus omnibus navigationisque legibus tractatum, et communi utrinque commodo et ulteriore experientiâ dirigendum.

Sequuntur articuli.

Conclusio.

Cum autem rerum omnium et conventionum commoda aut incommoda non nisi tractu temporis mutuæque experientiæ documentis penitùs indagari poterunt; conventum itaque est ut quocunque demùm tempore utrique parti id visum fuerit, ex communi consensu indici et convenire poterunt utrinque delegati Commissarii, quorum curæ erit et operis quodcunque in suprà memoratis articulis defecisse reperietur, supplere, quodcunque autem incongruum et utrinque incommodum, mutare aut circumscribere, et uberiorem demùm hisce de rebus omnibus tractatum absolvere prorsus et perlimare.

Digitized by Google

To the States at first Audience.

High and Mighty Lords,

WHEREAS his Majesty of Great Britain, the King my Master, hath already found the good effects of the late peace, concluded at Breda with your High and Mighty Lordships, by the general satisfaction of his Majesty's subjects, as well as his own, and doubts not but your Lordships have likewise found the same effects among your people in general, as well as among yourselves: his Majesty esteems nothing more likely to increase the mutual satisfaction, nor to assure the safety of both nations, than an increase of the confidence and friendship already contracted between his Majesty and your Lordships, by a stricter and firmer alliance at this time.

And, whereas his Majesty, contented with those great and powerful kingdoms and dominions, which Almighty God has given him by an undisputed succession, covets nothing from his neighbours, nor has other thoughts or wishes, besides those of the common peace and repose of Christendom; his Majesty finds himself, in this conjuncture, sensibly touched by the calamities so many others are like to feel from the continuance of the war lately broken out between the neighbour Crowns, and which, in course of time, cannot but involve most of the Princes and States of Christendom, unless the flame be quenched before it rise too high. And his Majesty believes, that nothing can so much contribute towards a safe and sudden composure of that quarrel, nor consequently restore the peace of Christendom, as a joint mediation of his Majesty with your High and Mighty Lordships (together with each other's allies) between the two Crowns, now in war.

Digitized by Google

Upon these two considerations, his Majesty hath thought fit to send me to your Lordships with full powers to treat and conclude upon what shall be found necessary, between his Majesty and your Lordships, in the adjustment of all matters tending to these great ends. And since nothing can bring these negotiations to be of effect, so much as the suddenness of their conclusion, I desire your Lordships to appoint such Commissioners as you shall think fit, with whom I may fall upon the treaty of these matters, and to whom I am ready to expose the full powers which his Majesty, the King my Master, has given me upon this occasion.

At my Audience of Leave to the States-General.

High and Mighty Lords,

His Majesty of Great Britain the King my Master, having seen so happily finished, and in so few days, three several treaties with your High and Mighty Lordships; by which the common security of both nations is established, the seeds of all new differences entirely rooted out, and the way laid open to the peace of Christendom, in case our neighbours proceed with the same good faith, wherewith we have begun: his Majesty thinks he has no farther occasion for my services here, because Ministers are only proper for fastening and cementing a confidence and friendship; whereas ours is so firmly established, as not to require any, even the most ordinary supports.

For this reason, his Majesty has ordered my return to Brussels, there to pursue, in concert

A mon Audience de Congé aux Estats Géneraux.

Hauts et Puissans Seigneurs, Sa Majesté le Roy de la Grande Bretagne mon maître, ayant vû conclurre si heureusement, & en si peu de jours, trois divers traitez avec V. H. & P. S. par lesquels la sureté commune des deux nations vient d'être retablie; les semences de toutes les nouvelles discordes entierement deracinées, & le chemin à la paix & au repos ouvert pour la Chretienté, en cas que nos voisins s'y portent avec la même foy & la même franchise qui nous l'a deja fait acheminer; sa Majesté croit n'avoir plus besoin de moy en ce lieu, puisque les Ministres ne servent & ne sont propres qu' à cimenter et entretenir la confiance; mais la nôtre se voit établie sur de si solides fondemens qu'elle n'aura plus besoin des appuis ni des aides ordinaires.

C'est pourquoy sa Majesté ordonne mon retour à Brusselles, pour y poursuivre de concert

Digitized by Google

with your Lordships, in favour of our neighbours, what we have here concluded for ourselves. But his Majesty has commanded me, upon my departure, to assure your Lordships from him, that, as all things are best preserved by the same means they are begun, so his Majesty will not fail for ever to observe what he has now concluded, with the same faith, the same sincerity, and the same open heart, wherewith he gave command they should be negotiated: and his Majesty doubts not at all, that your Lordships are entirely resolved to proceed after the same manner, which is the highest mark of a perfect confidence to be given at present.

For my own particular, I cannot part from hence, without expressing my satisfaction at the sincere and judicious proceeding of your High and Mighty Lordships in the whole course of these negotiations; and particularly at the great prudence you have shewn in the choice of those Commissioners you gave me. Their candour and sincerity, their great capacity and application, did contribute very much to the quick and happy conclusion of our treaties. For my own particular, as I shall ever bear in mind, with joy and pleasure, this short space of time I have passed with your Lordships, in whatever part of the world I may be; so I shall always contribute by my good wishes, and whatever services I may be capable of, to the support of this good intelligence, so happily

avec V. S. en faveur de nos voisins, ce que nous venons de conclurre icy pour nous mêmes: mais elle m'a commandé sur mon depart d'assurer V. S. de sa part, que comme une chose n'est jamais mieux conservée que par les principes qui l'ont fait naitre, aussi sa Majesté ne manquera pas d'observer constamment tout ce qui vient d'être conclu, & cela avec autant de bonne foy, avec la même sincerité, & la même droiture de cœur, qu'on luy a vû temoigner lors qu'elle l'a fait negocier: et sa Majesté ne doute point que V. S. ne soient entierement resolus à tenir la même conduite à son égard; & c'est là le dernier sçeau qui doit être apposé de part & d'autre à nos traitez pour preuve d'une parfaite confiance.

Pour ce qui me regarde en particulier, je ne saurois sortir d'icy sans me louër hautement de la judicieuse & sincere conduite de vos H. & P. S. dans tout le cours de cette negociation, & particulierement de l'extrême prudence que vous avez fait paroître dans le choix de messieurs les Commissaires que vous m'avez donnez. Leur candeur, leur capacité consommée, leur ardeur, & leur application pour l'affaire proposée, n'ont pas peu contribué au bonheur & à la rapidité de la conclusion de nos traitez. Pour moy, comme je me souviendray, toute ma vie avec joye, & même avec tendresse, du court espace de tems que j'ay passé près de V. S. aussi dans quelque lieu du monde que je sois appellé à passer ma vie, je ne negligeray jamais de contribuer par mes vœux, par toutes sortes de soins, & de services dont je me croiray

Digitized by Google

restored between both nations. In the mean time, God Almighty take your High and Mighty Lordships into his holy protection.

capable, au maintien de cette mutuelle intelligence que je vois si heureusement rétablie entre les deux nations. Cependant je prieray Dieu ardemment de prendre vos H.& P. S. sous sa sainte protection.

A Letter from the States to the King of Great Britain.

Feb. 18, N. S. 1668.

Sir,

It is merely in compliance to custom, that we do ourselves the honour to write to your Majesty, in answer to the letter you were pleased to send us, relating to Sir William Temple: For we can add nothing to what your Majesty has seen yourself of his conduct, by the success of the negotiation committed to his charge. As it is a thing without example, that, in so few days, three such important treaties have been concluded; so we can say, that the address, the vigilance, and the sincerity of this Minister, are also without example. We are extremely obliged to your Majesty, that you are pleased to make use of an instrument so proper for confirming that strict amity, and good intelligence, which the treaty at Breda had so happily begun: and we are bold to say, that, if your Majesty continues to make use of such Ministers, the knot will grow too fast, ever to be untied; and your Majesty will ever find a most particular satisfaction by it, as well as we, who, after our most hearty thanks to your Majesty for this favour, shall pray God, &c. and remain, Sir, &c.

Lettre de Recréance de la part des Estats, au Roy de la Grande Bretagne.

Le 18 de Fevr. S. N. 1668.

Sire,

Ce n'est que pour satisfaire à la coûtume que nous nous donnons l'honneur d'écrire à vôtre Majesté, en réponse de la lettre qu'il luy a plû nous écrire au sujet de Monsieur le Chevalier Temple; car nous ne pouvons rien ajoûter à ce que vôtre Majesté même a vû de sa conduite, par le succés de la negociation qui luy avoit été confiée. Comme c'est une chose sans exemple que dans si peu de jours trois si importans traitez ont été ajustez, aussi pouvons-nous dire que l'adresse, la vigilance, & la sincerité de ce Ministre sont aussi sans exemple. Nous sommes bien fort obligez à V. M. de ce qu'il luy a plû se servir d'un instrument si propre à achever d'étreindre le nœud d'amitié & de bonne intelligence que le traité de Breda avoit commencé à serrer: et nous osons dire, que si elle continue d'employer de semblables Ministres, le lien deviendra indissoluble, & elle en tirera toujours une satisfaction toute particulière aussi bien que nous, qui après l'avoir remercié de tout nôtre cœur de cette faveur, prierons Dieu, &c. Sire, &c.

Digitized by Google

A Letter from Monsieur de Witt to my Lord Arlington.

Feb. 14, N. S. 1668.

My Lord,

As it was impossible to send a Minister of greater capacity, or more proper for the temper and genius of this nation, than Sir William Temple; so, I believe, no other person, either will, or can, more equitably judge of the disposition wherein he has found the States to answer the good intentions of the King of Great Britain. Sir William Temple ought not to be less satisfied with the readiness wherewith the States have passed over to the concluding and signing of those treaties for which he came hither, than they (the States) are with his conduct, and agreeable manner of dealing in the whole course of his negotiation. It appears, my Lord, that you thoroughly understand men, and bestow your friendship only upon such as deserve it, since you cause persons to be employed who acquit themselves so worthily. I think myself happy to have negotiated with him, and that, by his means, your Lordship hath been pleased to give me a new testimony of your goodwill. For the favour you say his Majesty is pleased to have for me; I have no otherways deserved it, than by my respects for his Royal person, whereof I shall endeavour to give proofs upon all occasions his Majesty will please to afford me. In the mean while, I shall wait with impatience for some opportu-

Monsieur de Witt à Milord Arlington.

Le 14 Fevr. S. N. 1668.

Monsieur,

Comme il n'étoit pas possible d'envoyer icy un Ministre plus capable ni plus propre pour le naturel & le genie de cette nation que Monsieur le Chevalier Temple; aussi croy-je que l'on n'auroit pas pû choisir une personne qui puisse ou veuille plus équitablement juger de la disposition en laquelle il a trouvé les Etats à repondre aux bonnes intentions du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Il ne doit pas être moins satisfait de la promptitude avec laquelle les Etats ont passé outre à la conclusion & signature des traitez pour lesquels il est venu icy; qu'ils sont de sa conduite, & de sa belle maniere d'agir en toute la suite de sa negociation. Il paroit, Monsieur, que vous vous connoissez en hommes, & que vous ne donnez vôtre amitié qu' à ceux qui la meritent, puisque vous faites employer des personnes qui s'acquittent si dignement. Je m'estime heureux d'avoir eu à negocier avec luy, & de ce que par son moyen il vous a plû me donner un nouveau temoignage de votre bienveillance. Pour ce qui est de la bonté que vous dites que sa Majesté a pour moy; je ne l'ay merité point que par le respect que j'ay pour sa personne Royale, dont je tacheray de luy donner des preuves à toutes les occasions qu'elle me fera la grace de m'en faire naître. J'attens bien avec autant d'impatience celles où je vous puisse temoigner combien je

Digitized by Google

nity to shew how sensible I am of all your Lordship's civilities, which I shall ever acknowledge, by a true esteem for your merits, and by a strong passion to let you see, that I am, with as much sincerity as you can desire, my Lord, your, &c.

suis sensible à toutes vos civilitez, que je reconnoitray toujours par un veritable estime pour vôtre merite, & par une très fort passion de vous faire voir que je suis avec autant de sincerité que vous pouvez desirer, Monsieur, vôtre, &c.

The Triple Alliance, copied from the original papers.

Factum tripliciter conventum.

WHEREAS, by the late treaty concluded at Breda, between the King of Great Britain and the States General of the United Netherlands, both nations have been restored, through the blessing of God, to that ancient friendship and good correspondence which was between them: and in order to cut off all occasions of farther differences, and to prevent all new accidents, which might tend to the disturbance of the said amity and good correspondence of the subjects on either part, some articles and rules of navigation and commerce were there agreed; and particularly, by the eleventh article of the said treaty, it was ordained, that the said King, and the said States-General, shall be obliged as friends, allies, and confederates, mutually to defend the rights and immunities of each other's subjects, against all such as shall endeavour to disturb the peace of either State by sea or by land, or such as, living within the dominions of either, shall be declared public enemies by the one or the other: and because it is not particularly determined, in

Quandoquidem pactis, non ita pridem Bredæ inter Magnæ Britanniæ Regem, & fœderati Belgii Ordines generales, conclusis, pristina inter utramque nationem amicitia ac bona correspondentia annuente divina gratia restituta, adeoque ad præcidendam omnem omninò in posterum novis dissidiis ansam, atque ad prævenienda nova inter utriusque partis subditos accidentia, quæ dictam amicitiam ac bonam correspondentiam turbare aliquando possint, in articulos quosdam legesque navigationis ac commerciorum ibidem consensum atque speciatim undecimo dicti tractatûs articulo statutum sit, uti dictus Dominus Rex, dictique Domini Ordines Generales, maneant amici confœderati necessitudine et amicitiâ, conjuncti et astricti, ad jura atque immunitates subditorum alterutrius contra quoscunque demum tuendas, qui utriusve status pacem terra marive disturbare conabuntur, vel qui infra alterutra dominia degentes publici utriusque status hostes denunciabuntur; neque tamen specificè definita reperiantur media, auxiliave, quibus fœderatorum pars una alteri, tali in casu, suc-

Digitized by Google

what way and manner the said confederates stand obliged mutually to succour each other; and that it is the fixed resolution of the said King of Great Britain, and of the said States-General, more and more to corroborate and accomplish the said agreement: therefore in the first place, and above all other things, they consent to confirm the said treaty concluded at Breda, together with the said laws of navigation and commerce relating to the same, as by these presents they are confirmed, under a mutual and undissoluble obligation to observe and accomplish them truly and faithfully, and to command the subjects on both sides exactly and religiously to observe and fulfil them according to the genuine sense and tenor of the said treaty and articles: and for the better ascertaining the mutual assistance that the parties are to give each other, which was omitted in the preceding treaty; for increasing amity and friendship between the said King and States-General, and that full provision may be made by a nearer alliance and union, for the safety and mutual defence of both States, against the pernicious endeavours and hostile attempts of any enemy under any pretext whatever: We whose names are underwritten, in virtue of the orders and full powers granted to us, and hereunder to be inserted, do covenant and agree, that the said King of Great Britain, and the said States-General of the United Netherlands, shall be

currere debeat: dicto autem magnæ Britanniæ Regi, dictisque Ordinibus Generalibus, stet sententia isthæc pacta corroborandi magis, magisque perficiendi, placuit imprimis atque ante omnia, dictum tractatum Bredæ conclusum, dictasque leges navigationis ac commerciorum eo spectantes confirmare, quemadmodum per præsentia confirmantur, obligatione mutua atque indissolubili eas bona fide observandi atque adimplendi, jubendique ut à subditis utrinque exactè atque religiosè observentur atque adimpleantur, juxta genuinum dicti tractatûs dictorumque articulorum sensum ac tenorem. Ut autem præterea de specialiore auxiliorum mutuò præstandorum designatione prioribus pactis omissa, pro amicitia inter dictum Dominum Regem, dictosque Dominos Ordines Generales incremento majori constet, utque securitati et defensioni mutuæ utriusque status contra infestos conatus vel insultus hostiles à quoquam forte quocunque demum sub prætextu instituendos, arctiori fœdere atque unione plenè prospiciatur; nos infra scripti, virtute mandati plenæque potestatis nobis concessæ atque inferius inserendæ convenimus atque statuimus dictum Dominum magnæ Britanniæ Regem, dictosque Dominos fœderati Belgii Ordines Generales, invicem obstrictos, unitos atque confœderatos fore; quemadmodum vi ac vigore præsentium invicem obstricti, uniti atque confœderati sunt, fœdere defensivo perpetuo, modo atque conditionibus sequentibus.

Digitized by Google

mutually obliged, united, and confederated together, as they are by the force and virtue of these presents mutually obliged, united, and confederated in a perpetual league defensive, in the manner, and under the conditions following.

I.

That, if any Prince, State, or other person whatever, without exception, shall under any pretext, invade, or attempt to invade, the territories, countries, or any places that lie within the Dominions of the said King of Great Britain, or shall exercise any acts of hostility by sea or by land, against the said King or his subjects, the said States-General shall be obliged, as by virtue of these presents they are obliged, to send forty ships of war well furnished with all things necessary, to assist the said King to oppose, suppress, and repel, all such insults and acts of hostility, and to procure him due reparation for any damages sustained: that is to say, fourteen of the said ships shall carry from sixty to eighty great guns, and four hundred men, a just allowance and computation being made, as well with respect to those ships that carry a greater, as those that carry a lesser number of men: fourteen other ships shall carry from forty to sixty guns, and, one with another, three hundred men at the least, allowance to be made as before, and none of the rest to carry less than six and thirty guns, and a hundred and fifty men. Besides which, they shall assist

I.

Quod si Principum Statuumve aliquis, aut quilibet alius, qualiscunque ille tandem fuerit, nemine excepto, sub quocunque prætextu invaserit, vel invadere tentaverit, territoria, regionesque, aut loca quælibet sub ditione dicti magnæ Britanniæ Regis sita, aliumve quemcunque actum hostilem terra marive contra dictum Dominum Regem ejusve subditos exercuerit; dicti Domini Ordines Generales tenebuntur, quemadmodum virtute præsentium tenentur, dicto Domino Regi, ad insultus eos actusque hostiles arcendos, supprimendos, atque repellendos, debitamque damni dati reparationem obtinendam, auxilio adesse quadraginta navibus bellicis probè instructis; quarum quatuordecem à sexaginta ad octoginta tormenta bellica majora, hominesque quadringentos ferant singulæ, facta justa compensatione aut retributione inter eas quæ numerosiore, et eas quæ minus numeroso milite nautaque instructæ erunt: quatuordecem aliæ à quadraginta ad sexaginta tormentis, hominibusque ad minimum trecentis, facta compensatione ut supra, instructæ sint quælibet: et nulla reliquarum minus ferat quam triginta sex tormenta, hominesque centum et quinquaginta; atque insuper sex mille peditibus, et equitibus qua-

Digitized by Google

him with six thousand foot soldiers, and four hundred horse, or shall pay a sum of money with due regard to the just value of such an assistance, either for the whole, or a part, at the choice of the said King. All these aids shall be furnished within six weeks after they shall be demanded; and the said King shall reimburse the whole charge to the said States, within three years after the conclusion of the war.

dringentis; vel valore justo hujusmodi auxilii in pecunia numerando, prout dicto Domino Regi eligere placuerit, vel parte tali prædicti auxilii, aut dicti valoris in pecunia, quæ à dicto Domino Rege expetetur. Præstabuntur autem dicta auxilia intra sex septimanarum spatium postquam postulata fuerint; dictisque Dominis Ordinibus à dicto Domino Rege refundentur impensæ omnes intra triennium, à finito atque extincto bello numerandum.

II.

That, if any Prince, State, or other person whatever, without exception, shall, under any pretext, invade, or attempt to invade, the United Provinces, or any places situated within the jurisdiction of the said States-General, or garrisoned by their soldiers; or shall exercise any act of hostility by land or by sea, against the said States-General or their subjects; the said King shall be obliged, as by virtue of these presents he is obliged, to send forty ships of war well furnished with all things necessary, to assist the said States-General, to oppose, suppress, and repel, all such insults and acts of hostility, and to procure due reparation for any damages sustained by them: that is to say, fourteen of the said ships shall carry from sixty to eighty great guns, and four hundred men; a just allowance and computation being made, as well with regard to those ships that carry a greater, as those that carry a

II.

Quod si Principum Statuumve aliquis, aut quilibet alius, qualiscunque ille tandem fuerit, nemine excepto, sub quocunque prætextu invaserit, vel invadere tentaverit Provincias Confœderatas, aut loca quælibet sub ditione dictorum Dominorum Ordinum Generalium sita, vel in quibus ipsorum miles præsidio positus est, aliumve quemcunque actum hostilem, terra marive, contra dictos Dominos Ordines Generales, eorumve subditos exercuerit; dictus Dominus Rex tenebitur, quemadmodum virtute præsentium tenetur, dictis Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus ad insultus eos actusque hostiles arcendos, supprimendos, atque repellendos, debitamque damni dati reparationem obtinendam, auxilio adesse quadraginta navibus bellicis probè instructis: quarum quatuordecem à sexaginta ad octoginta tormenta bellica majora, hominesque quadringentos ferant singula; factâ justâ compensatione aut retributione inter eas

Digitized by Google

lesser number of men: fourteen other ships shall carry from forty to sixty guns, and, one with another, three hundred men at the least; allowance to be made as before; and none of the rest to carry less than six and thirty guns, and a hundred and fifty men. Besides which, he shall assist them with six thousand foot soldiers, and four hundred horse, or shall pay a sum of money, with due regard to the just value of such an assistance, either for the whole or a part, at the choice of the said States. All these aids shall be furnished within six weeks after they shall be demanded: and the said States shall reimburse the whole charge to the said King, within three years after the conclusion of the war.

quæ numerosiore, et eas quæ minus numeroso milite nautaque instructæ erunt: quatuordecem aliæ, à quadraginta ad sexaginta tormentis, hominibusque ad minimum trecentis, factâ compensatione ut supra, instructæ sint quælibet: et nulla reliquarum minus ferat quam triginta sex tormenta, hominesque centum et quinquaginta: atque insuper sex mille peditibus, et equitibus quadringentis; vel valore justo hujusmodi auxilii in pecunia numerando, prout dictis Dominis Ordinibus eligere placuerit, vel parte tali prædicti auxilii, aut dicti valoris in pecunia, quæ ab iisdem expetetur. Præstabuntur autem dicta auxilia intra sex septimanarum spatium postquam postulata fuerint: dictoque Domino Regi à dictis Dominis ordinibus refundentur impensæ omnes intra triennium à finito atque extincto bello numerandum.

III.

The said ships of war, and the said auxiliary forces of horse and foot, together with the commanders of the ships and forces, and all the subaltern officers of both, that shall be sent to the assistance of the party injured and attacked, shall be obliged to submit to his pleasure, and be obedient to the orders of him or them, who shall be appointed to command the armies in chief, either by sea or by land.

III.

Dictæ naves bellicæ, ac dictæ equitum peditumque copiæ auxiliares, naviumque et copiarum præfecti, ceterique officiales bellici minores, vim atque injuriam passo submissi, ejus voluntatem respicere tenebuntur, atque obsequi mandatis ejus eorumve, quos summa cum potestate exercitui suo terra marive præficere voluerit.

IV.

Now, that an exact computation may be made of the charges that are to be reim-

IV.

Quo autem exacta computatio institui possit impensarum, intra triumannorumspatiumpostquam

Digitized by Google

bursed within the space of three years after the conclusion of the war; and that the value of such assistance may be adjusted in ready money, which possibly the party attacked may chuse, either for the whole or a part of the said ships, horse and foot; it is thought expedient, that the fourteen ships carrying from sixty to eighty pieces of cannon should be valued at the sum of eighteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds Sterling, or of English money; the other fourteen, which carry from forty to sixty guns, at fourteen thousand pounds Sterling; and the remaining twelve, at six thousand pounds of the same money: six thousand foot, at seven thousand five hundred pounds Sterling, and four hundred horse, at one thousand and forty pounds, for one month: the money to be paid by the said King of Great Britain at London, and by the said States-General at Amsterdam, according as the course of the exchange shall be at the time when payment is to be made. But, in consideration of the six thousand foot soldiers, the sum of six thousand pounds Sterling shall be paid within the first month, to defray the expence of listing and providing the men.

bello finis impositus fuerit, restituendarum; vel etiam justi earundem valoris in pecunia numerata, quam vim hosticam passo, loco dictarum navium, equitum, peditumque, vel omnium vel pro parte eligere forte placuerit; visum fuit impensas quatuordecem navium à sexaginta ad octoginta tormentis instructarum, æstimare pretio octodecem millium sexcentarum et sexaginta sex librarum Sterlings, sive monetæ Anglicanæ; earumque quatuordecem quæ à quadraginta ad sexaginta tormenta ferunt, quatuordecem millibus libris Sterlings; reliquarum autem duodecem, sex millibus ejusdem monetæ libris: sex mille autem pedites, septem millibus et quingentis libris Sterlings: Quadringentos vero equites, mille quadraginta ejusdem monetæ libris: pro quolibet mense computandis: nummique à dicto quidem Domino Rege magnæ Britanniæ, Londini, à Dominis verò Ordinibus Generalibus Amstelodami solventur, juxta cursum cambii eo tempore quo solutio præstanda erit: pro primo autem mense respectu peditum supradictorum, insuper persolventur sex mille libræ Sterlings, pretium nimirum ad eos conscribendos instruendosque necessarium.

V.

This league, with all and every thing therein contained, shall be confirmed and ratified by the said King of Great Britain, and the said States-General of the United Provin-

V.

Fœdus hoc, omniaque et singula eo contenta, à dicto Domino Rege magnæ Britanniæ, dictisque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus Fœderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriusque

Digitized by Google

ces, by letters patents of both parties, sealed with their great seal in due and authentic form, within four weeks next ensuing, or sooner, if it may be; and the mutual instruments of ratification shall be exchanged on each part within the said time.

partis literas sigillo magno munitas debita et authentica forma, intra quatuor septimanas proximè sequentes, aut citius, si fieri poterit, confirmabitur et ratihabebitur, mutuaque ratihabitionum instrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

Here follows a copy of the powers granted by the most serene King of Great Britain, &c.

Sequitur tenor mandati à serenissimo Domino Rege magnæ Britanniæ dati.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all, &c.

Carolus, Dei gratia, Angliæ Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, fidei defensor, &c. Omnibus, &c.

A copy of the powers granted by the High and Mighty Lords, the States-General of the United Netherlands.

Sequitur tenor mandati, à Celsis et Præpotentibus Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus Fœderati Belgii dati.

The States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, to all those, &c.

Les Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies des Païs-Bas, à tous ceux qui ces presentes, &c.

In witness and confirmation of all and every part of this treaty, we, whose names are underwritten, have subscribed and sealed the same, at the Hague in Holland, the 23d of January, 1668.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem majusque robur, hisce tabulis subscripsimus, illasque sigillis nostris subsignavimus, Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia die 23tio Januarii, anni 1668.

Signed on the King of England's part,

W. Temple.

Signed on the King of England's part,

W. Temple.

On the part of the States,

Gellicom.
Asperen.
J. de Witt.
Crommon.
Unkel.
Jac. Van Coeverden.
K. Isbrants.

On the States part,

Gellicom.
Asperen.
Johan de Witt.
Crommon.
Unkel.
Ja. Van Coeverden.
K. Isbrants.

Digitized by Google

THE King of Great Britain, and the States-General of the United Netherlands, having with great grief considered, and maturely weighed, the miseries and calamities of the late war between the two Crowns, which raged in their neighbourhood; and having observed that the flames of that fire have insinuated themselves among their neighbours, which, by inevitable necessity, will involve the greatest part of the Princes and States of Christendom in the same calamities, unless they may be timely extinguished, before they gather greater force; have thought that they could not discharge the duty of that trust, and the respective offices, wherein they are placed by God, if, after the re-establishment of a mutual friendship and alliance between the nations of Great Britain and the United Netherlands, and the conclusion of a peace between the four powerful States that were parties in that bloody war, they should not apply their minds with the utmost diligence and industry, to compose the differences that have arisen between the said two Crowns, and more especially to take care, that the flames of that war, which have been kindled in their neighbourhood, may be extinguished. Therefore the most serene King of Great Britain, and the High and Mighty States of the United Netherlands, having with much labour and earnest intreaty, induced the most Christian King to profess solemnly

Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, atque Ordines Generales Fœderati Belgii, reputantes atque apud animum expendentes summo cum dolore miserias calamitatesque belli, quod nuper inter duas Coronas in finibus exarsit, quodque necessitate quadam ineluctabili maximam partem Principum atque Statuum Christiani orbis iisdem involvet malis, serpente incendii istius flammâ ad vicinos, nisi tempestivè et in principio extinguatur: existimarunt se nullatenus functuros partibus officii munerisque sibi à Deo mandati, si post feliciter instauratam amicitiam sub auspiciis divini Numinis, et reductam veterem necessitudinem inter magnam Britanniam et fœderatum Belgium, eodemque tempore stabilitam pacem inter quatuor potentes status, qui cruenti istius belli partes fuerunt, animum non applicent sedulò omnique industria ad componenda dissidia quæ oborta sunt inter prædictas duas Coronas, præsertim ut memorati in finibus belli flamma sopiatur. Proinde, cum serenissimus magnæ Britanniæ Rex, et Celsi præpotentesque Ordines fœderati Belgii, post multum operis insumptum, variasque obtestationes, obtinuerint à Christianissimo Rege, ut professus sit dictis Ordinibus Generalibus se ex hoc tempore arma depositurum, dummodo Hispani parati sint illi rite atque solenniter cedere per tractatum pacis omnia loca et munimenta, ut et castellanias cum annexis, quæ armis in expeditione præcedentis anni occupavit aut munivit; vel ut Hispani permoveantur in eum tran-

Digitized by Google

to the said States-General, that he would immediately lay down his arms, if the Spaniards would either consent to yield up to him, in due form and manner by a treaty of peace, all those places and forts, together with the Chastellanies and their dependencies, which he possessed himself of in the expedition of the last year; or will be persuaded to transfer and make over to him all the right that remains to them in the Duchy of Luxemburgh (or else in the county of Burgundy) together with Cambray and the Cambresis, Doway, Aire, St. Omer, Winoxbergen, Furnes, and Lincken, with their bailiwicks, Chastellanies, and other dependencies; and, in case they accept the alternative last mentioned, the most Christian King will restore to the King of Spain all such places and territories as the French have possessed by their arms since they entered Flanders: provided the High and Mighty States-General shall on their part promise, and render themselves guarantees to the most Christian King, that they will, by their reasons, and other effectual means, induce the Spaniards to agree to these conditions. The said King of Great Britain, and the said States-General, jointly conclude and judge, that they can do no better service in this conjuncture and state of affairs, either to the two Kings before named, or to the rest of the neighbouring Princes and States, than by their joint

scribere omne jus quod illis restat in Ducatu Luxenburgico (sive Comitatu Burgundii) præter Cameracum cum Cameracesio, Duacum, Ariam, Fanum St. Audomari, Bergas, St. Vinoci, Furnas, et Linckium, cum Bailluatibus, Castellaniis, cæterisque quæ inde pendent: Regemque Christian. posteriori casu, restituturum Regi Hispaniæ omnia loca ditionesque, quæ Galli armis ex quo Flandriam ingressi sunt occupavere; ea lege ut Celsi et Præpotentes D.D. Ordines Generales reciprocè caveant, Regemque Christian. securum reddant, se effecturos apud Hispanos rationibus aliisque momentis, ut in easdem consentiant leges; arbitrati sunt se hac tempestate, atque hoc rerum articulo optimam navaturos operam non modo utrique præfatorum Regum, sed et aliis Principibus et Statibus vicinis; si conjunctim communicatis consiliis collatisque operis adhortentur, et quantum suarum virium est permoveant sæpius dictas duas Coronas, ad ineundam pacem legibus atque conditionibus supra memoratis; in quem finem facta nobis, qui has tabulas subsignavimus, potestate cum libera, ex præscripto mandatorum nostrorum convenimus de articulis et capitibus sequentibus.

Digitized by Google

counsels and utmost endeavours, to exhort, and, as much as in them lies, oblige the said two Crowns to make peace, upon the terms and conditions before-mentioned. To which end we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having received full power to that effect, have, by virtue of those injunctions, concluded and agreed the following articles.

I.

That the King of Great Britain, and the States-General of the United Netherlands, shall either jointly or separately (provided their intentions be mutually communicated, and no way repugnant to this agreement) use their utmost endeavours and industry with the most Christian King, to persuade him to promise and engage in the best form, and by a solemn treaty, to the King of Great Britain, and to the States-General of the United Netherlands, that he will conclude a peace and alliance with the King of Spain, without any exception or reserve, under whatever pretext, or for whatever cause; if the King of Spain shall be induced or persuaded, by the King of Great Britain and the confederated States, to yield to the most Christian King, either the places he possessed himself of the last year in the Low-Countries, or to give him an equivalent, by delivering up the places above-mentioned, or others in lieu of them, as shall be mutually agreed between the parties concerned.

I.

Quod Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, et Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, conjunctim vel separatim, communicatis tamen omnino consiliis, et secundum ea de quibus mutuò convenerint, omnem operam omnemque industriam adhibebunt, apud Regem Christianissimum ut in optima legitimaque forma, solenni tractatu spondeat et promittat Regi Magnæ Britanniæ, et fœderati Belgii Ordinibus Generalibus, se pacis fœdus facturum cum Rege Hispaniæ, citra omnem, quocunque sub prætextu, vel quacunque de causa, exceptionem vel dispensationem; si Hispaniæ Rex induci aut permoveri queat per Regem Magnæ Britanniæ, et Ordines fœderatos, ut cedat Regi Christianissimo, aut loca anno præterito in Belgica armis occupata, aut aliud tantundem valens, per traditionem locorum superius memoratorum aliorumve in compensationem, de quibus mutuo consensu partes inter se convenire poterunt.

Digitized by Google

II.

That the most Christian King be induced to consent, that the present cessation of arms in the Low-Countries may be prolonged to the end of the month of May, to the end that the King of Great Britain and the confederated States may, in the mean time, employ themselves with all diligence, care, and industry, to procure the consent of the King or Queen of Spain, and their council, to the aforesaid terms and conditions.

II.

Ut Rex Christianissimus consentire velit in prorogationem vacationis armorum in Belgica ad finem mensis Maii, ut temporis interea Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderati Ordines sedulò omnisque industria et diligentia operam dare possint apud Regem aut Reginam Hispaniæ, ejusque consiliarios, uti legibus conditionibusque præfatis consensum adhibere velint.

III.

But that the most Christian King may have no just occasion to refuse to prolong the cessation of arms, the King of Great Britain and the confederated States shall oblige themselves, by the same treaty, to take effectual care, that the Spaniards shall yield to France all that was taken the last year by the French, or give them an equivalent, as shall be agreed with the consent of both parties.

III.

Ut verò Rex Christianissimus nulla justa ratione dictam armistitii prorogationem recusare queat, Rex Magnæ Britanniæ Ordinesque fœderati se eodem tractatu obstringent, id se effecturos ut reapse Galliæ cedatur ab Hispanis omne quod Gallorum armis anno præterito occupatum fuit, aut aliud tantundem valens, de quo mutuo partium consensu convenietur.

IV.

That the most Christian King shall be induced and persuaded to give entire credit to, and put full confidence in, the aforesaid promise, that his arms may not, for the future, disturb the quiet of the Low-Countries: so that if it should happen, contrary to all hope and expectation, that the King of Great Britain and the confederated States shall not be able by their exhortations and earnest solicitations to persuade the Spaniards to give their consent to the conditions above-

IV.

Quod Rex Christianissimus inducetur et permovebitur prædicto promisso plenam adhibere fidem, atque in eo fiduciam ponere velit, et ut proinde ejus arma in posterum quiescant in Belgica, ita quidem ut si præter omnem spem et expectationem Rex Magnæ Britanniæ fœderatique Ordines nequeant per exhortationes obtestationesque permovere Hispanos ante finem mensis Maii proximi, ut consensum adhibeant conditionibus sæpius memoratis, ac proinde ad media majoris effi-

Digitized by Google

mentioned, before the end of the next ensuing May; and that it become necessary to use more effectual means to that purpose: nevertheless the French shall not move or introduce their arms within, or upon, the limits of the Low-Countries; but the King of Great Britain and the confederated States shall engage, and take upon themselves such necessary provision, as may effectually oblige the Spaniards to accept the foresaid conditions of peace: and it shall not be left to the discretion of the most Christian King, either to exercise any acts of hostility in the said countries, or to possess himself of any town, though by voluntary surrender; unless the King of Great Britain and the confederated States shall cease and omit to prosecute the things above-mentioned.

caciæ venire necesse sit; nihilominus Galli intra fines et in finibus dictæ Belgicæ sua arma non movebunt aut introducent: sed Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderati Ordines se obstringent, atque in se recipient id sese suppleturos quod necessum erit, ut Hispani reapse astringantur uti pacem legibus supradictis accipiant; adeoque Regi Christianissimo integrum non erit ullos exercere actus hostiles in dictis regionibus, neque ullum occupare oppidum licet sponte sua se dedere velit, nisi Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderati Ordines cessent atque omittant efficere id quod jam dictum est.

V.

That, when the peace is made between the two Crowns, not only the King of Great Britain, and the confederated States, but likewise the Emperor, and all the neighbouring Kings and Princes, who shall think themselves concerned that the quiet of Christendom remain unshaken, and the Low-Countries be restored to the enjoyment of their former tranquillity, shall be guarantees and conservators of the same: to which end, the number of forces, and other means to be used against either of the parties that shall violate or infringe the said peace, shall be determined and agreed, that the in-

V.

Quod, sancita inter duas Coronas pace, ejus servandæ sponsores vindicesque erunt in forma omnium optima, amplissima et securissima, non modo Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, et fœderati Ordines, sed et Imperator, omnesque Reges et Principes vicini, qui existimabunt suâ interesse ut orbi Christiano inconcussa maneat quies, et Belgicæ sua reddatur constetque tranquillitas: in quem finem definietur copiarum militarium numerus, aliaque media quibus utendum erit adversus alterutram partium quæ temeraverit vel violaverit pacem, ut injuriam demat ac parti læsæ resarciat.

Digitized by Google

jury may cease, and the party offended receive satisfaction.

VI.

That this agreement, with all and every thing therein contained, shall be confirmed and ratified by the said King of Great Britain, and the said States-General of the United Provinces, by letters patents on both sides, sealed with the great seal in due and authentic form, within four weeks next ensuing, or sooner if it can be done; and within the said time the mutual instruments of ratification shall be exchanged on both sides.

In witness and confirmation of all which, we, whose names are underwritten, have subscribed and sealed the same. At the Hague in Holland, the 23d of January, 1668.

Signed as before.

VI.

Pacta hæc conventa omniaque et singula iis contenta, à dicto Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniæ, dictisque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus fœderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriusque partis literas sigillo magno munitas, debita et authentica forma, intra quatuor septimanas proximè sequentes, aut citius si fieri poterit, confirmabuntur et ratihabebuntur, mutuaque ratihabitionum instrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem majusque robur, hisce tabulis subscripsimus, illasque sigillis nostris subsignavimus. Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia 23tio die Januarii, 1668.

Signed as before.

Separate Articles, which shall be of the same Force and Authority, as if they had been inserted in the Treaty concluded this Day between the King of Great Britain and the States-General of the United Netherlands.

Articuli separati, qui ejusdem erunt virtutis atque authoritatis, ac si inserti forent tractatui hodierno die, inter Regem Magnæ Britanniæ et Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, concluso.

I.

If, in the procuring of a peace between France and Spain, any difficulty should arise about the point of the renunciation; it is to be so contrived, that either no mention at all is to be made of it in the treaty; or, at least, the form is to be conceived and set down in such words, as nothing may accrue to either of the two Crowns, on account of

I.

Si in procuranda pace inter Galliam et Hispaniam se offerat aliqua difficultas super puncto renunciationis, ea ineunda est ratio, ut vel nulla ejus in pactis fiat mentio, vel ut ejusmodi verbis concipiatur formula, ut neutræ duarum Coronarum quoad prædictam renunciationem eo quicquam accedat, aut etiam inde creetur aliquod juris detrimen-

Digitized by Google

the said renunciation; nor any prejudice be created to either of them in point of right: but, if either the King of Spain, or the most Christian King, refuse their consent to this expedient; then the King of Great Britain, and the confederated States, shall proceed against the refuser, as is agreed by the third and fourth article of the treaty, and in the last of these articles respectively; with this condition however, that, in case such refusal proceed from the King of Spain, the most Christian King shall oblige himself not to make war in the Low-Countries, according to the tenor of the fourth article.

tum: quod si verò Rex Hispaniarum, vel etiam Rex Christianissimus, in id consentire nolint, adversus recusantem Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderati Ordines procedent; ut conventum est articulo tertio et quarto dicti tractatûs, et ultimo horum articulorum respectivè: ea tamen conditione, ut, in casu recusationis Regis Hispaniæ, Rex Christianissimus se reciprocè obstringat, quemadmodum in articulo quarto, se nullatenùs arma moturum in Belgica.

II.

That the King of Great Britain, and the States-General of the United Netherlands, to the end that all parties may be satisfied, shall oblige themselves to use their utmost endeavours, that a peace may at the same time be established between the Kings of Spain and Portugal; but with this condition, that the most Christian King shall also oblige himself, in case this negotiation cannot be so soon accomplished, that such a delay shall no way hinder, on his part, the peace between him and Spain; except only, that it shall be free for the said most Christian King to give succour and aid to the King of Portugal, his ally, either by way of attack, that he may draw the enemy from other parts, or by any other means which he shall judge to be most convenient and advantageous. And, if the

II.

Quod Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, et Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, ut prolixius ab omni parte satisfiat, se obligabunt omnem sedulò operam daturos, ut pax inter Reges Hispaniæ et Lusitaniæ eodem tempore sanciri possit; eâ tamen lege ut vicissim Gallia se obstringat, si tam cito non possit id negotium perduci ad exitum, uti pax inter se et Hispaniam nihilominus ineatur; hoc excepto, ut liberum sit Regi Christianissimo suppetias ferre Regi Lusitaniæ fœderato suo, eique auxilio esse, sive inferendo arma sua ut aliunde detrahat hostem, sive alio quocunque modo quem sibi commodissimum atque maximè ex usu fore existimabit. Et si Hispani adduci poterunt ut consentiant in pacem sub dicta conditione, atque ea proinde concludatur; Rex Christianissimus tenebitur, à Belgica ut pacata, atque neu-

Digitized by Google

Spaniards can be brought to consent to a peace under the said condition, and the same be concluded accordingly; then the most Christian King shall be obliged wholly to abstain from the Low-Countries, as possessed of peace, and not involved in the disputes of either party. Neither shall it be lawful for him to form any designs against them, either by open force or clandestine practices; nor to require any satisfaction, under the pretext of charges and expences to be sustained on account of the war in Portugal, either for raising men, or any other burthen of that war. And, if it should happen that, during the said war, the auxiliary forces of the most Christian King should possess themselves of any places in Spain or Italy; the said most Christian King shall restore them to Spain, as soon as the peace with Portugal shall be made. But if, beyond and contrary to expectation, Spain should refuse to make peace with the King of Portugal, and also with the most Christian King, under that exception, of leaving him free to assist his confederate, as has been already said; in this unexpected case, the King of Great Britain, and the confederated States, shall be bound to employ themselves effectually to procure the consent of the Spaniards: yet with this provision, that the most Christian King do also oblige himself not to make war in the Low-Countries, as in the former case is already said.

trarum partium rebus implicata, omnino abstinere; neque ei jus fasque erit quidquam adversus eam moliri, neque palam virtute bellica, neque clandestinis artibus; ut ne petere ullam satisfactionem sub obtentu impensarum erogationumque quæ in bello Lusitanico erunt faciendæ, tam ob delectum militum, quam alia belli onera. Quod si contingat manente dicto bello per auxiliares Regis Christianissimi copias, occupari loca quædam in Hispania Italiave; Rex Christianissimus simulatque pax cum Lusitania facta fuerit, eadem restituet Hispaniæ: sed si, præter et contra expectationem, Hispania recuset pacem cum Rege Lusitaniæ, ut et cum Rege Christianissimo, ea cum exceptione ut fœderato suo liberum sit ei auxiliari, quemadmodum jam dictum est; hoc inopinato casu Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderati Ordines tenebuntur reapse id efficere ut Hispani omnimodò in id consentiant: ita tamen ut reciprocè Rex Christianissimus se obstringat quemadmodum casu primo, quod non sit moturus arma in Belgica.

Digitized by Google

III.

But if, beyond all expectation, the most Christian King should entertain such thoughts as shall induce him to refuse to promise, that he will sign the treaty of peace as soon as the Spaniard shall consent to give up all those places which have been acquired by him in his last expedition, or such an equivalent as shall be agreed by mutual consent; or in case he shall not accomplish his promise, or shall disallow or reject the cautions and provisions that are expressed in the said treaty, which are so necessary to obviate the fears and jealousies that are most justly conceived of the most Christian King's intentions to make a farther progress with his victorious arms into the said Low-Countries, so often already mentioned: In all these cases, and also if he should endeavour by any subterfuges or oblique practices to hinder or elude the conclusion of the peace; then England and the United Netherlands shall be bound and obliged to join themselves to the King of Spain, and with all their united force and power to make war against France; not only to compel him to make peace upon the conditions aforesaid; but, if God should bless the arms taken up to this end, and favour them with success, and if it should be thought expedient to the parties concerned, to continue the war till things shall be restored to that condition in which they were at the time when the peace was made

III.

*Si præter omnem expectationem Rex Christianissimus inducat in animum ut promittere nolit quod tractatum pacis signaturus sit, simulatque Hispani cessuri sint omnia loca ab eo occupata in novissima expeditione, vel aliud tantundem valens, de quo mutuo consensu convenietur; aut promissorum fidem non impleat, aut detrectet respuatve cautiones et præmunimenta in dicto tractatu expressa, quæ necessaria sunt ut obviam eatur metui justissimè concepto, ne Rex Christianissimus arma sua victricia in sæpius memorata Belgica ulteriùs proferat: quod omnibus istis casibus, ut et si per alia subterfugia aut obliquas artes conetur pacis conclusionem impedire aut eludere; Anglia fœderatumque Belgium tenebuntur accedere partibus Regis Hispaniæ, omnibusque et junctis viribus terra marique adversus Galliam bellum gerere; ut compellatur non in leges duntaxat sæpius jam memoratas pacem facere; sed si arma in eum finem sumpta Deum habeant favent*em *et propitium, atque de communi consensu id expedire visum fuerit, etiam bellum continuare, donec res in eum statum fuerint restitutæ quo fuerunt tempore fœderis in collimitio regnorum in montibus Pyrenæis sanciti.*

Digitized by Google

upon the borders of both kingdoms, in the Pyrenean mountains.

IV.

These separate articles, with all and every thing therein contained, shall be confirmed and ratified by the said King of Great Britain, and the said States-General of the United Provinces by letters patents of both parties, sealed with their great seal in due and authentic form, within four weeks next ensuing, or sooner if it may be; and within the said time, the mutual instruments of ratification shall be exchanged on both sides.

Done at the Hague in Holland, the 23d of Jan. 1668.

Signed as before.

IV.

Articuli hi separati, omniaque et singula iis contenta, à dicto Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniæ, dictisque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus fœderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriusque partis literas sigillo magno munitas, debita et authentica forma intra quatuor septimanas proximè sequentes, aut citius si fieri poterit, confirmabuntur, et ratihabebuntur, mutuaque ratihabitionum instrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

Actum Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia, die 23 Jan. 1668.

Signed as before.

The Swedish Act.

WHEREAS the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, have earnestly desired that the King of Sweden might be associated with them, as one principal party, in that league which is this day concluded, and signed by their Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries; whereby a speedy and safe peace may be promoted and made between the two neighbouring Kings, and the public tranquillity of Christendom, by the blessing of God, may be restored: and whereas the King of Sweden himself, even from the beginning of these differences, which have grown to such a height between the two Kings, has acquainted

Cum Magnæ Britanniæ Rex, ac Ordines Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum, valde desiderarint Regem Sueciæ unà cum ipsis in partem principalem adscisci illius fœderis, quod hodierno die per Deputatos ac Plenipotentiarios suos conclusum signatumque est; quo prompta atque tuta pax inter Reges duos vicinos promoveatur, quoque Divinâ adspirante gratiâ per orbem Christianum publica tranquillitas instauretur: præterea cum Rex ipse Sueciæ jam ab initio eorum motuum qui inter duos designatos Reges cruduerunt, tam Magnæ Britanniæ Regi, quam fœderatorum Belgarum Ordinibus, sit testatus bonum sincerumque suum propositum ac studium, quo tenebatur, sese cum iis in hoc ne-

Digitized by Google

the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Netherlands, with his good and sincere intentions and desire to associate and join himself to them in the business abovementioned, as well in regard of the strict friendship and alliances, which he acknowledges have joined him in one common interest with them, as that, by his accession to them, all useful and honourable means and industry may be used to establish a peace between the two Kings: professing that no other difficulty has hitherto restrained him from opening his mind upon that whole matter, than that he waited to be informed, what firm and deliberate counsels the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Netherlands, would take in this affair, and what assistance would be requisite, with other things of that kind, in which the said King of Sweden desires to be satisfied, to the end that he may proceed by the like steps, and in equal manner with the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Netherlands: for these reasons it is thought expedient for the common good, that the present instrument between the Ministers, Deputies, and Plenipotentiaries of the said Kings of Sweden and Great Britain, and those of the said States of the United Netherlands, be put down in writing, whereby, on the one hand, the King of Sweden shall be obliged, after the foresaid satisfaction received, to embrace the said league, to use the same endea-

gotio modo supradicto sociandi ac jungendi; idque respectu arctissimæ necessitudinis, et horum fœderum per quæ communibus cum iisdem commodis adstringi se agnoscit, ut per hunc interventum, perque modos utiles quoscunque ac honestos, paci inter binos Reges stabiliendæ insudetur: necper ullam difficultatem sese hactenus cohibitum, mentem suam super re totâ aperiendi, nisi quod præstolatus est dum certò resciretur quid deliberati atque firmi consilii Rex Magnæ Britanniæ et fœderatorum Belgarum Ordines super omni hoc negotio essent capturi; tum quousque promoveri subsidia aliaque id genus nonnulla possent, per quæ dictus Sueciæ Rex sibi satisfieri exoptat, ut pari et æquato cum Magnæ Britanniæ Rege ac fœderati Belgii Ordinibus passu in hac re procedat: ea propter, ex commodo communi visum est fore, si hoc instrumentum inter Ministros Deputatos ac Plenipotentiarios dictorum Regum Sueciæ Magnæque Britanniæ, nec non dictorum fœderati Belgii Ordinum scripto consignaretur; quo unâ ex parte obligaretur Rex Sueciæ, mediante satisfactione prædictâ, ad amplectendum designatum fœdus, et ad eandem navandam operam, eodemque passu procedendum, quo dictus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex dictique fœderatorum Belgarum Ordines procedendum sibi esse existimant, ut negotium tam salutare promoveatur: necnon parte ex altera dictus Rex Sueciæ certus ita fieret locum sibi vacuum ac integrum relinqui fœderis hujusce inter partes principales

Digitized by Google

vours, and to proceed equally, and in the like manner as the said King of Great Britain and the said States of the United Netherlands think fit to do, in order to promote and carry on so useful a work; and on the other hand, the said King of Sweden will be assured, that a place is reserved for him, empty and entire, to enter, as one principal party, into this league; as by these presents he is desired in the most friendly manner, both by the King of Great Britain, and by the States of the United Netherlands; who on their part will most readily employ themselves, and all kind of good offices, towards the Emperor and King of Spain, to the end that all such differences, as the said King of Sweden may have with them, be composed and determined, according to the rules of equity and justice. And, forasmuch as concerns the aid which is required from the said King, the States-General of the United Netherlands will not be wanting to send, with expedition, such necessary instructions to their Ambassadors in the Court of England; that between them, and such Commissioners as the said King of Great Britain shall appoint to that purpose, and the extraordinary Ambassador of the King of Sweden, who is now ready to begin his journey thither, together with other Ministers residing there on the part of divers Princes and States, who are concerned and interested in this affair; such measures may be taken to settle all things

amplectendi, quemadmodum id ut faciat à Magnæ Britanniæ Rege, et ab Ordinibus fœderati Belgii, per hasce præsentes, maximè amicum in modum rogatur; qui et ipsi libenter apud Cæsarem et Hispaniarum Regem omne officii genus eo convertent, ut controversiæ nonnullæ quæ dicto Sueciæ Regi cum iis possint intercedere, quamprimùm componantur, et secundum jus fasque è medio tollantur. Quantùm vero ad subsidia quæ à dicto Rege prætenduntur; Ordines fœderati Belgii Generales non defuturi sunt mandatis necessariis confestim ad legatos suos in Aula Britannica mittendis, ut hos inter et Commissarios quos dictus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex eam in rem designabit, interque legatum Regis Sueciæ extraordinarium, qui iter jam nunc eò meditatur ex Belgio, aliosque illic degentes Ministros Principum Statumve, quos id negotium quoque tangit atque concernit; consilia ineantur, super necessariis ac requisitis omnibus constituendis; sic ut fœdus jam dictum consequatur quamprimùm substantiam atque formam pacti tripliciter conventi; ad quod invitandis amicis et confœderatis, si qui ejus in partem admitti volent, omni ex parte opera quam diligentissimè dabitur.

Digitized by Google

which shall be requisite and necessary, that the said league may acquire the substance as well as the form of a triple agreement: to which the respective parties shall make it their business to invite their friends and allies, if any of them should desire to be admitted.

Done at the Hague, $\frac{13}{23}$ of January, 1668.
Signed,
Christopher Delphicus B. and *Count* of *Dhona.*

Haraldus Appelboom.

Actum Hagæ-Comitum, $\frac{13}{23}$ *die Januarii,* 1668.
Signed,
Christophorus Delphicus B. *ac* Comes *in* Dhona.

Haraldus Appelboomius.

The Negotiation of the Peace at Aix la Chapelle.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Antwerp, Feb. 27, N. S. 1668.

I DID not expect to give your Lordship another trouble from this town; but having been detained here some days by the Marquis's stay till this morning, and intending at night to follow him for Brussels, I know not whether my arrival there may be time enough to write by the pacquet that parts from thence to-morrow at evening, and therefore will not venture by any omission to forfeit my charter of writing every post.

I had yesterday a joint audience with the States-Deputies, and will refer your Lordship for what passed there to the enclosed memorial on our part, and answer given us by the Marquis, which we have dispatched this morning to Sir John Trevor, and Mr. Bouningham at Paris, by a joint express; in hopes by their endeavours there to bring the business to a suspension of arms, upon the Marquis's

Digitized by Google

having now accepted the truce, to the shorter term offered by France, as well as the longer proposed by his Majesty and the States.

For the alternative, we can yet draw no resolution from him upon it, defending himself by the necessity of first concerting with us how he shall be assisted, in case of France refusing both the truce and the alternative. This is in the Marquis an aim of engaging us by advance in the party, and thereby exasperating France, by being threatened more directly; and so embark the whole affair into the necessity of a long ensuing war; for that Spain would much rather engage in it with our assistance, than be forced to a peace upon our late project: and, I think, pursues its own interest right in this point. That of Holland is certainly opposite to theirs, and leads them to nothing so much as the composure of the quarrel, with some security of France growing no greater at least on this side.

The Marquis is large in arguing to me, that our interest lies in a joint war, rather than a peace between the two Crowns, and that our end must have been hitherto, only to engage Holland with us in the quarrel; and reasons from story, and the present genius of our people and Parliament. I endeavour to quiet him in this point, by assuring him, that whatever other Kings have thought or done, and whatever the people wish or talk; the King, in whose sole disposition all matters of peace and war lie, will by no arts nor considerations be induced to break from Holland, in the management of this business; nor make one pace farther in the Spaniards defence, than the Dutch are willing to join in. That his interest as well as honour lies in this resolution, agreed by so many solemn treaties; and that we as well as the Dutch can very well content ourselves with a peace, and pursuit of our commerce; provided we are not alarmed too

Digitized by Google

much and too near, with the growth of the French greatness. And I wind up all with pressing him still to an acceptation of the alternative, and to embrace the peace according to our project. And thus we fence here at present; of all which, your Lordship, I believe, will receive the detail more at large by the Holland pacquet, in the dispatches passed between me and Monsieur de Witt since my arrival here; of which I desired him to send copies to their Ambassadors in England, to be by them communicated to your Lordship; because more uncertainty in the Nieuport pacquet, and the present want of a settled cypher, have hindered larger transmissions this way, and more directly to your Lordship's hands.

Yesterday came in the Spanish letters; and though I have not seen the Marquis since, yet, by what I have from his Secretary and the Count Mountery, I have reason to believe that Don Juan is on his way hither, and now at sea with considerable supplies of men and money, which are very necessary here, either for carrying on a war, or inducing a peace. The particulars I cannot assure, though the common talk is, of eight thousand Spaniards, and six hundred thousand crowns in specie, and eight hundred thousand in remise. It is very possible your Lordship may hear more there of his coming, and see him sooner than we shall here, as well as judge better, what, or how much, it will import to the effect or defeat, the advance or diversion, of the present counsels. What occurs to your Lordship upon it, and will relate to my conduct here, I hope to receive from you by the first; not esteeming any thing well begun, without a thread at least from your Lordship to guide me; nor well performed, until I receive your approbation, upon which depends so much the satisfaction, as well as good fortune of, &c.

Digitized by Google

To Monsieur de Witt.

Antwerp, Feb. 27,
Sir, *N. S.* 1668.

I HAVE received much satisfaction as well as honour by yours of the 25th, and am very glad to observe the same conformity of sentiments between us since we parted, that there ever was while I resided at the Hague. I shall write to you now with my own ink, having already done it with that of the Marquis, who would not be satisfied till I sent you that dispatch: and I was forced to shew him my letter before I sealed it, to see whether it were agreeable with what he had desired me to tell you upon that occasion.

I had, at my first audience, pressed him so closely to declare himself upon the alternative, and surmounted all his excuses upon defect of powers, by desiring that he would do it by way of limitation, not to be ratified till the Queen of Spain's farther pleasure; that at last he told me he would comply, provided France could be brought to ratify their renunciation in form in the Parliament of Paris, to content themselves with an equivalent for the cities taken, which advance so far into the heart of the country: and lastly, if in case of a refusal from France, he might be assured beforehand of the assist-

A Monsieur de Witt.

Anvers, le 27 Fevr.
Monsieur, *S. N.* 1668.

J'ai éprouvé beaucoup de satisfaction, & reçu beaucoup d'honneur par vôtre lettre du 25 de ce mois; & je suis fort aise de remarquer une aussi grande conformité de sentimens entre nous depuis que nous nous sommes separés, qu'il y en a toujours eu pendant mon sejour à la Haye. Je vous écrirai à present de mon propre encre, car c'est de celle de Monsieur le Marquis que je vous écrivis dernierement: il ne voulut point paroître satisfait, que je n'eusse consenti à me charger du soin de vous écrire, & par-là je me vis contraint à lui montrer ma lettre avant que de la fermer; car il falloit qu'il jugeât si elle étoit conforme à ce qu'il m'avoit prié de vous mander sur l'affaire qui en faisoit le sujet.

Dans ma premiere audience je l'avois si fort pressé de se declarer sur l'alternative, & j'avois été si habile à lever toutes ses difficultés, & à m'opposer à ses délais qui étoient fondés sur son manque de pouvoirs; mes instances étoient si fortes & si redoublées, qu'il me dit enfin qu'il se disposeroit à faire ce que j'exigeois de lui, pourvû qu'on pût porter la France à faire verifier, dans les formes, sa renonciation dans le Parlement de Paris; à se contenter d'un équivalent pour les villes prises, lesquelles sont situées si avant dans le païs, & presque au cœur de l'Etat; & enfin qu'en cas de réfus de la part de la France, il seroit as-

Digitized by Google

ance of England and Holland by a common concert.

I told him, that for the two points of the renunciation and the equivalent, he might reckon from our joint offices upon all we could obtain from France in favour of Spain. For, as to the equivalent, our own interest obliged us to it, that we might leave so much a stronger barrier between France and Holland: and, as for the renunciation, we desired it too, but do not conceive it a thing upon which Spain ought to be too stiff; since our guaranty was the only strong and solid renunciation that could be made upon this occasion: and for the assurance he desired, of being assisted in case of a refusal from France, I did not doubt but he had heard at least the substance of our secret articles to that purpose; because their Ambassador at the Hague had told me, that a Jew of Amsterdam had sent him a copy of them, by which he must needs be well informed of our mutual obligations, as well as of our intentions, not only to assist Spain, in case of a refusal from France, but to engage ourselves in the quarrel, by an open war with all our forces against that Crown.

suré du secours de l'Angleterre & de l'Hollande, & que les deux nations armeroient de concert. Au reste, voici par où je réüssis à vaincre sa repugnance, & à obtenir ma demande; je lui dis qu'en attendant l'arrivée de pleins-pouvoirs, il fît, sous le bon plaisir de la Reine d'Espagne, & ad ratificandum, la declaration sur laquelle je le pressois.

A l'égard des conditions qu'il propose, voici ce que je lui ai répondu; que pour les deux prémieres, savoir la renonciation & l'équivalent, qu'il se pouvoit promettre de nos soins & de nos offices mutuels tout ce que nous pourrions obtenir de la France en faveur de l'Espagne; à quoi j'ai ajouté, qu'à l'égard de l'équivalent, nôtre interêt commun demandoit qu'on pressât cet article, & qu'il fût accordé afin qu'une plus forte barriere fût laissée entre la France & l'Hollande. Que pour ce qui regardoit la renonciation, nous la desirions aussi; mais que nous ne croyons pas que ce fût une chose sur laquelle l'Espagne dût s'opiniâtrer; puisque nôtre guarantie étoit l'unique sureté & la seule solide renonciation sur laquelle il fût seur de se reposer en cette occasion. Qu'à l'égard de l'assurance qu'il vouloit avoir d'un secours, en cas que la France refusât les conditions; je ne doutois point qu'il n'eût été instruit, du moins en substance, du contenu de nos articles secrets touchant ce point-là; que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne à la Haye m'avoit même dit qu'un Juif d'Amsterdam lui en avoit fait tenir la copie, par où il devoit être assez instruit de nos engagemens mutu-

Digitized by Google

After much discourse to this purpose, I thought fit, for his entire satisfaction upon the article of our assisting Spain, to let him know clearly, how far he might hope from us in the point of the renunciation, and to remove a thought which Don Estavan de Gamarra had given him as coming from me, that there was something in the articles, by which it should appear, that we would not force Spain in case of a refusal: for these reasons, I say, I thought good to read to him our three separate articles, without giving him a copy; for he professed to me, that he never received one from the Jew, though he did the substance of them both from him, and the Baron de Bargeyck. I do not know whether I did well in shewing them to him; but, if you think otherwise, I hope you will excuse me upon my good intentions, and my usual plain dealing to inform freely those I treat with, of what they have to hope or to fear. The Marquis took no offence at our two first articles; and only said, he could not comprehend, why the States being newly enemies to Portugal, and having still a controversy with them, should desire so much to see them strengthened by a peace with

els, aussi bien que de nos intentions pour l'Espagne; qui étoient non seulement de l'assister en cas d'un réfus de la part de la France, mais de nous engager dans sa querelle, par la declaration d'une guerre ouverte en tournant toutes nos forces contre la France.

Après beaucoup de discours sur cette matiere, j'ai trouvé à propos, afin de le satisfaire pleinement sur l'article du secours, pour lui faire évidemment sentir jusqu'où il pouvoit conter sur nous dans l'affaire de renonciation, aussi bien que pour lui ôter la pensée que Don Estavan de Gamarra lui avoit donné de ma part, que peut-être y avoit-il quelque chose dans les articles par laquelle il paroîtroit que nous ne voulions forcer l'Espagne en cas d'un réfus: pour toutes ces raisons, dis-je, j'ai jugé à propos de lui lire nos trois articles separés, sans lui en laisser la copie; car il me declara, qu'il ne les avoit point reçus de son Juif, mais qu'il en avoit vû la substance, & que c'étoit par le canal de ce Juif & du Baron de Bargeyck. Je ne sçai pas si j'ai bien fait en les lui montrant; mais en cas que vous jugiez le contraire, j'espère que vous m'excuserez toujours en faveur de mes bonnes intentions, qui m'ont toujours porté à declarer ouvertement à ceux avec qui je traite, tous les sujets qu'ils ont à craindre & d'esperer. Le Marquis ne se formalisa pas de nos deux premiers articles; il dit seulement, qu'il ne put comprendre pourquoi les Etats qui étoient n'agueres ennemis de Portugal, & à qui il

Digitized by Google

Spain. I told him, my opinion was, that they drove on this affair, because they believed that, without a peace with Portugal, Spain would not recover itself enough to make head against France, and reduce affairs of Christendom to the balance that is necessary.

He was satisfied with this answer, and spoke no more of the business of the renunciation: but, upon that of the assistance we promised, he said, that the words of the third article were strong enough, but in too general terms; and that, after he should have accepted the alternative, France might yet, during the next month, or April, make some enterprises upon the places on this side, before the new levies could be raised, and take some of them, if he were not furnished with three or four thousand foot, which might be easily done from Holland: and though I told him, that we could not concert farther with him before he had accepted the alternative, and by that means cast the refusal upon France, and, by consequence, the force of our arms in case of a war, which we could not declare till we were assured upon which side the refusal would lie; for all that, he would not be satisfied till I had writ you that letter; from which, however, I looked for no other effect, than to let him understand from you, what he had already learnt enough from me.

reste encore des choses à demêler avec lui, souhaitoient si fort de voir accroître leurs forces par une paix avec l'Espagne : Je lui dit que ma pensée étoit, qu'ils pressoient cette affaire parce qu'ils croyoient que, sans la paix avec le Portugal, l'Espagnol ne se verroit jamais en état de faire tête à la France; & de donner par ce moyen aux affaires de la Chrétienté le juste équilibre qu'elles doivent avoir.

Il se contenta de celà, & ne parla plus de l'affaire de la renonciation. Mais à l'egard du secours que nous promettons, il me dit, que les termes de l'article troisieme étoient assez forts, mais trop généraux; & qu'après qu'ils auroient accepté l'alternative la France pourroit encore pendant les mois de Mars & d'Avril, faire quelques tentatives sur les villes du Païs-Bas; que les nouvelles levées nous pourroient encore être sur pied; & que la Flandre se verroit enlever quelqu'une de ses places, si elle n'étoit munie de trois ou quatre mille hommes de pied; & qu'il étoit facile à la Hollande de les fournir. Quoique j'aye pris le soin de lui repeter, que nous ne pouvions entrer en aucune negociation avec lui avant qu'il eût accepté l'alternative, que par-là le réfus retomberoit sur la France, & que par consequent elle s'attireroit toutes nos forces sur les bras en cas de guerre; qu'enfin ces forces ne pouvoient faire de demarches jusqu'à ce qu'on eut sçu de quel côté seroit le réfus. Tout cela ne le satisfit pas, & il ne parut point content que je ne vous eusse écrit la lettre qui a précédé celle-

Digitized by Google

On Sunday morning your Deputies arrived, and we had a joint audience of the Marquis, whereof they will send you an account. I shall only tell you, that as we pressed him very much upon the alternative, and he, on the contrary, pressed us to a concert for the defence of Flanders, and in the mean while to make our preparations for war; I told him thereupon, what preparations the King my master had already made, and those also made by the States on their side; but I desired him, by his declaring himself upon the alternative, to let us know against which of the two parties such great preparations must be employed. I leave it to your Deputies to entertain you with an account of the long discourses he made upon this occasion, which ever were moderate enough towards our common intentions. But we finished them all, by giving him a memorial to the same effect with what we had told him; upon which having received an answer yesterday in the evening, we dispatched it away this morning to the Ministers at Paris, to forward the suspension of arms, if possible, by our accepting the truce proposed by France, to the end of March.

ci, de laquelle pourtant je n'attendois pas d'autre effet que de lui faire voir par vôtre propre plume, ce qu'il avoit deja assez appris par ma bouche.

Le dimanche au matin Messieurs vos Deputés arriverent, & nous eûmes conjointement nôtre audience du Marquis; c'est de quoi ils vous rendront conte; je vous dirai seulement, que comme nous l'avons fort pressé sur l'alternative, et que lui au contraire ne nous a parlé & n'a insisté que sur un concert pour sa defense, nous proposant de faire tous nos préparatifs pour la guerre en attendant; je lui ai parlé de ceux que le Roy mon maître faisoit dejà & de ceux que les Etats faisoient aussi de leur côté; je l'ai prié de nous apprendre en se declarant sur l'alternative, contre lequel des deux parties il faudroit employer de si grands préparatifs. Je laisse à Messieurs vos Deputés le soin de vous entretenir du détail de la conference, qui fut longue, & dans laquelle le Marquis parla souvent & longtems, mais toujours d'une maniere assez moderée, & qui ne paroissoit point s'éloigner de nos communes intentions. Notre audience s'est conclue par la présentation d'un memoire que nous lui avons remis, & qui contenoit en substance les choses que nous étions chargés de lui dire. Notre memoire ayant été répondu hier au soir, nous avons envoyé ce matin la réponse aux Ministres qui sont à Paris, & cela dans la vûe de faire réüssir, s'il est possible, la suspension d'armes; qui selon toutes les apparences ne sera pas longtems differée, dès qu'on aura

Digitized by Google

Yesterday came letters from Spain: and though I have not seen the Marquis since, (who went early this morning for Brussels,) yet, by what I have learnt from other hands, I have reason to think, that Don Juan may be at present upon his journey hither, and perhaps at sea, and that he brings along with him considerable supplies both of men and money. The talk runs, that he has eight thousand Spaniards, six hundred thousand crowns in specie, and eight hundred thousand in returns. But of these particulars I cannot assure you at present. I have already informed your Deputies more at large in what I have learnt upon the subject of Don Juan; as I shall continually do before-hand of all things that I think you would be glad to know from hence: and I believe they will tell you, that there is no need to desire me to use them with all confidence, whereof they have already received proofs enough since we met here: and they will be in every thing the more acceptable to me, by how much I see they are in esteem with you, and in credit with the States, as indeed they deserve both from their qualities and their persons.

Pray give me the liberty to desire you will send a copy of

appris en France que la trève qu'elle a proposée jusqu' à la fin de Mars vient d'être acceptée.

Il arriva hier des lettres d'Espagne; & quoique je n'ai pas vû le Marquis depuis qu'il a reçeu ses depêches (car il a parti ce matin de la pointe du jour pour Bruxelles) j'ai pourtant lieu de conclure de tout ce que j'ai appris d'ailleurs, que Don Juan est enfin parti, & même deja embarqué pour se rendre en ce païs-ci, & qu'il a mené avec lui des secours considerables & d'hommes & d'argent; le bruit court, que les troupes consistent en 8000 *Espagnols, que l'argent se monte à* 600000 *écus en especes, & en* 800000 *écus de remises. Mais en vous écrivant ces particularités je ne prétens vous apprendre encore rien de certain. J'ai dit dans un plus grand détail, à Messieurs vos Deputés, ce que j'avois appris touchant Don Juan; & à l'avenir je serai toujours prêt à leur declarer toutes les choses que je croirai que vous serez bien aise que vous soient mandées d'ici. Je me flate qu'ils vous diront qu'il n'est pas necessaire de me prier de me communiquer, & de m'ouvrir à eux avec toute sorte de confiance, puisque je leur en ai deja donné des preuves depuis que nous nous sommes rassemblés ici. Leur entretien & leurs personnes me seront d'autant plus agréables, que je vois qu'avec vôtre estime ils ont aussi l'estime & la confiance de Messieurs les Etats; c'est une justice rendue à leur merite & à leurs qualités personnelles.*

M'accordez-vous la liberté de vous prier d'envoyer une copie

Digitized by Google

this letter to the Dutch Ambassadors at London, with directions to shew it to my Lord Arlington; because I cannot so well trust the Nieuport pacquet, too much exposed to the inspection of the French; and I am not yet so perfect in my cipher as to write long letters in it upon these affairs.

I desire you will remember me to my friends at the Hague, and believe me, as much as any man in the world, Sir, your, &c.

de cette lettre aux Ambassadeurs d'Hollande à Londres, avec ordre de la faire voir à Milord Arlington; car je me défie extrêmement du courier de Nieuport, trop exposé à la rencontre des François; & je ne suis pas encore assez grand maître dans mon chiffre, pour m'en servir dans les affaires d'un aussi long détail.

Je vous prie de m'aider à me conserver dans le souvenir de mes amis de la Haye, & de me croire toujours, & autant que personne du monde, Monsieur, vôtre humble & très affectionné Serviteur.

The Memorial given to the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo. Febr. 1668.

My Lord,

THE under-signed Resident of the King of Great Britain, and the Deputies extraordinary of the States-General of the United Netherlands find themselves obliged to represent to your Excellency, that his Majesty and their High Mightinesses have lately concluded a treaty, by which they have not only provided for their proper security, but also for the peace and quiet of Christendom, in case their neighbours proceed in it with the same good intentions wherewith the said allies have begun this affair: his said Majesty and their High Mightinesses, for the better perfecting so Christian a work, having given orders to their Ministers residing at the Courts of both Kings at present in war, to endeavour by all means, and by a common concert, to dispose

Memoire au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo. Anvers, Fevr. 1668.

Monsieur,

Les soussignez Resident de la Grande Brétagne, & les Deputés extraordinaires des Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies du Païs-Bas se trouvent obligés de representer à V. E. que sa Majesté & leurs Hautes Puissances ayant depuis peu conclu un traité, par lequel ils n'ont pas seulement pourvû à leur propre sureté, mais aussi à la paix & répos de la Chrêtienté, en cas que leurs voisins y procedent avec les mêmes bonnes intentions dont les dits Alliés ont entamé cette affaire; sa dite Majesté & leurs Hautes Puissances, pour mieux acheminer un ouvrage si Chrêtien, ont donné ordres à leurs Ministres auprès des deux Couronnes à present en guerre, de tâcher par tous moyens, & par un concert commun, de disposer les dites deux Couronnes à accepter les moyens proposés par les dits Al-

Digitized by Google

both the said Kings to accept the means proposed by the said allies, as the readiest and most necessary for arriving at so happy an end; that is to say, to accept the peace upon the alternative already proposed: and (to prevent the accidents that may intervene to hinder the progress of the treaty) to consent also immediately to a truce till the end of March, and in the mean while to send their Plenipotentiaries to Aix la Chapelle, furnished with instructions and powers, necessary to treat and conclude a peace upon the said alternative; that the fire at present kindled, and whereof in all appearance the sparks are ready to fly through the greatest part of Christendom, may be soon extinguished, and give place to a general and lasting peace, to the safety of all those who find themselves engaged in the sad effects or consequences of the present war.

The said Resident and Deputies extraordinary are more particularly obliged, by the orders of their Masters, to represent to your Excellency, how glorious it will be to you, how advantageous to the common ends of the peace, and how necessary for preserving to Spain the remainder of Flanders, that your Excellency, by virtue of your powers, would make the first step in this great affair, by consenting readily to the said alternative, and to the said truce, and to the dispatching of the said Plenipotentiaries to Aix la Chapelle; and for the better entering into this negotiation, and the said truce, that

liés, comme les plus prompts & les plus necessaires pour arriver à une fin si heureuse; c'est-à-dire, de consentir à la paix sur l'alternative deja propos'e; & (pour prevenir les accidens qui pourront survenir pour empêcher le progrès d'un traité) de consentir aussi promptement à une trève jusqu'à la fin du mois de Mars, & en attendant d'envoyer leurs Plenipotentiares à la ville d'Aix la Chapelle, munis des instructions & des pouvoirs requis pour y traiter & conclure la paix sur la dite alternative, afin que le feu qui se voit à present allumé, & duquel les étincelles se vont en apparence jetter dans la plus grande part de la Chrêtienté, se puisse bientôt étouffer; & faire place à une paix générale, durable, & salutaire à tous ceux qui se trouvent enveloppés ou dans les effets ou dans les consequences funestes de la guerre presente.

Les dits Resident & les Deputés extraordinaires se trouvent plus particulierement obligés, par les ordres de leurs maîtres, de representer à V. E. combien il lui sera glorieux & avantageux à la fin commune de la paix, & necessaire à la conservation de ce qui reste à l'Espagne dans les Païs-Bas, que V. E. en vertu de ses pouvoirs fasse le premier pas dans cette grande affaire, en consentant promptement à la dite alternative, & à la dite trève, & à la depêche des dits Plenipotentiaires à la ville d'Aix la Chapelle: et aussi pour mieux acheminer cette negociation & la dite trève, que V. E. se declare

Digitized by Google

your Excellency will declare immediately your acceptation of the truce, which the most Christian King has proposed, from the 18th of November to the last of March, 1668. And, upon all these points, the said Resident and Deputies extraordinary do pray your Excellency, with all possible instances, to give them a speedy and plain answer, agreeable to the good and holy dispositions wherewith his Majesty and their High Mightinesses have begun and pursued this glorious and Christian design of a general peace.

promptement d'accepter la trève que sa Majesté très Chrétienne a proposée le 18 Novembre 1667, jusqu' au dernier jour de Mars 1668. Et sur tous ces points les dits Resident & les Deputés extraordinaires se trouvent obligés de prier V. E. avec toutes les instances possibles, de leur donner une réponse prompte, nette, & agréable aux bonnes & saintes dispositions avec lesquelles sa Majesté & leurs Hautes Puissances ont entamé & poursuivi ce dessein glorieux & Chrétien de la paix commune.

To my Lord Hallifax.

My Lord, Brussels, March 2, N. S. 1668.

It would be a difficult thing to answer a letter I received lately from your Lordship, if it could be ever difficult for me to do a duty where I owe it so much, and pay it so willingly. The reflections I make upon what you say, and what I hear from other hands of the same kind, carry me only to consider how much by chance, and how unequally, persons and things are judged at a distance; and make me apprehend, from so much more applause than is my due upon this occasion, that upon the next I may meet with as much more blame than I deserve; as one seldom has a great run of cards which is not followed by an ill one, at least gamesters that are no luckier than I. It is not my part to undeceive people, that will make my successes pass for merit or ability; but, for my friends, I would not cheat them to my advantage itself; and therefore will tell you the secret of all that has seemed so surprising in my negotiation; which is, that things drawn out of their center are not to be

Digitized by Google

moved without much force, or skill, or time; but, to make them return to their center again, there is required but little of either, for nature itself does the work. The true center of our two nations, now so near allied, is where they now are seated; and nothing was in the way of their returning thither, but the extreme jealousies grown between the Ministers on both sides, and from thence diffused among the people; and this it was my good luck to cure, by falling into a great confidence with Monsieur de Witt, which made all the rest easy: and there is the whole story, that you may see how much you are either biassed or mistaken in all the rest you say of it. For what you mention of reward, I know not how it came into your head, but I am sure it never entered into mine, nor, I dare say, into any body's else. I will confess to you, that considering the approbation and good opinion which his Majesty, and some considerable enough about him, have been abused into, by my good fortune in this business, I think, a wiser man might possibly make some benefit of it; and some of my friends have advised me to attempt it, but it is in vain: for I know not how to ask, nor why, and this is not an age where any thing is given without it. And, by that time you see me next, you shall find all this which was so much in talk to my advantage for nine days, as much forgotten as if it had never been, and very justly, I think; for in that time it received a great deal more than its due, from many other hands as well as from yours. This I tell you, that you may not deceive yourself by hoping to see me ever considerable, farther than in the kindness of my friends; and that your Lordship may do your part to make me so in that, seeing me like to fail in all other ways. But, as I remember, this is a time with you for good speeches, and not for ill letters; I will therefore end this, to make you more room for the

Digitized by Google

others, and hope that none of the eloquence you are entertained with, can be more persuasive than a plain truth, when I assure you that I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful humble servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, March 2, N. S. 1668,

I AM sorry his Majesty should meet with any thing he did not look for at the opening of this session of Parliament; but confess I do not see why his Majesty should not only consent, but encourage any enquiries or disquisitions they desire to make into the miscarriages of the late war, as well as he has done already in the matter of accounts: for, if it be not necessary, it is a King's ease and happiness to content his people. I doubt, as men will never part willingly with their money, unless they be well persuaded it will be employed directly to those ends for which they gave it; so they will never be satisfied with a government unless they see men are chosen into offices and employments by being fit for them, continued for discharging them well, rewarded for extraordinary merit, and punished for remarkable faults. Besides, in these cases, his Majesty discharges the hardship and severity of all punishments upon the Parliament, and commits no force upon the gentleness of his own nature, while his subjects see that no tenderness of their Prince, nor corruption of Ministers, can preserve them long from paying what they owe to any forfeits of their duty. Nor indeed can any Prince do justice to those that serve him well, without punishing those that serve him ill, since that is to make their conditions equal whose deserts are different. I should not say this to any person but your Lordship, to whom I know part of that justice is due. But, to say the truth, the progress and end of the last war went so

Digitized by Google

much to my heart, and I have heard so much lately from Monsieur de Witt concerning the carriage of it on our side, especially what fell under his eye while he was abroad in the fleet, that I cannot but think the Parliament may be excused for their warmth in this pursuit. But your Lordship can best discern by the course of debates, whether this proceeds from a steady intention upon a general good, or from some accidental distempers, from which the greatest and best assemblies of men are not always free, especially when they have continued long together.

I beg your Lordship's pardon for my liberty in these discourses, to which you were pleased to encourage me by hearing me so obligingly those few minutes I was allowed for such talk or thoughts at my last being with you, and from the sense you then expressed of the absolute necessity there was for his Majesty to fall into a perfect intelligence with his Parliament, especially being engaged into an appearance of action abroad by the force of this present conjuncture. I am ever, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Brussels, March 5, N. S. 1668.

About ten days since I dispatched away an express to you (jointly with the deputies of Holland) whereby we acquainted you and Monsieur Bouningham, that the Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo had accepted the truce and suspension of arms proposed some time since by France, until the end of March, as well as the other proposed lately by his Majesty and the States-General until the end of May. We are in some pain to have yet received no account of his arrival, but hope this delay will be recompensed by bringing us news of the treaty's being accepted in the same terms by that Court as well as by this.

Digitized by Google

However, in case of any scruple which may be raised there, for want of due notice given of the acceptation here, we now send you an act of the Marquis Castel-Rodrigo, authorising his Majesty's and the States' Ministers at Paris to manifest to that Court his Excellency's said acceptation, and thereupon to negotiate and conclude the same on that side.

And, to the end that no objection may be made by France against the present expedition of this truce, in order to an ensuing treaty and peace, we send you likewise by this express the Marquis's last answer to our instances yesterday made for the acceptation also of the alternative, which is so full and so direct to the ends of our late treaty, that we have now nothing left to do on this side, the remainder of the whole negotiation lying on your parts at Paris, which we are here very much pleased with, seeing it is devolved to so much abler hands. I hope you will place the whole strength of his Majesty's and the States-General credit in that Court upon an immediate consent to the suspension of arms, knowing how dangerous all new accidents may prove to the fair hopes and prospect in which we are at present of a peace; and withal how far his Majesty and the States are engaged to take part in any action that shall begin after the Marquis's accepting the alternative, as well as all other points of their late project for bringing about so happy an end.

For a good presage of this greater peace, we received here the news of that of Portugal, the very evening which brought us so happily the Marquis's answer upon the alternative, which has so much raised the hearts of the Spaniards here, that we are likely to have less thanks for pressing them so far to a prejudicial peace, as they esteem it on this side: but, since they are already obliged, it will depend wholly upon France to hinder the conclusion of this

Digitized by Google

in the same season with the other; which I will believe them too wise to do, as well as too constant to the assurances they have already given his Majesty, the States, and several other Princes in this point; of which the immediate consenting to a suspension of arms will shew the meaning and effect.

I shall no farther increase your present trouble, than by the professions of my being, Sir, your most humble servant.

To the Count de Molina, Spanish Ambassador at London.

My Lord, March 7, 1668. YOUR Excellency cannot doubt of my satisfaction in arriving at Brussels to find myself there immediately possessed of your letter with the inclosed paper; though the news of your health was more necessary to me, than that of the unreasonableness of one of your neighbours, and true interests of the others, which I find so well described there. But the best ink in the world is not a balsam that can cure such wounds; they must find their remedy from more powerful medicines, which the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo has given us reason to hope, if France will still chuse rather to fall out with all the world, than to make a peace so much to their own advantage as that we offer them: at least it is certain, that your Excellency with a stroke of your pen has brought to light the most covered designs of your enemies, undeceived with the greatest clearness of your friends, and put Flanders under the securest protection; of which I cannot

Al Conde de Molina.

Sennor Mio, 7 Marco 1668. *No puede V. E. dudar del gusto que he tenido enllegar a Brusseleus, aviendome yo allado a qui con su carta en las manos con le quaderno adjunto, aunque a mi era mucho mas necessaria la noticia de su salud de V. E. que no de la sinrason de uno suyo vezino ny del interez verdadero de los otros, que van muy bien traçados en el dicho quaderno; Pero la mejor tinta del mondo no es balsamo bostante para curar tales heridas, y es menester remedios mas fuertes, a los quales la prudencia del Sennor Marques de Castel Rodrigo a dado lugar si la Francia par sus peccados mas quisiere la guerra con todo el mondo, que no la poz avantajada que la hemos offrecido: a lo menos se puede dezir que S. E. con un rasyo de pluma a sacado en luz los desinios mas encubiertos de sus enimigos, a dado a los interessados el mas claro desenganno, y puesto las cosas de Flandes debaxo del amparo mas fuerte que se podia buscar, de que no me puedo impedir de dar a V. E. la enorabuena.*

Digitized by Google

help rejoicing with you as the author.

For what relates to Father Patrick, how much soever I concern myself in his fortunes, I do not yet see any way that it can be in my power to serve him on this occasion; the last French conquests having determined the dispute between the Abbot Arnolphino and the Marquis of Baden, about the Abbey de la Charité.

Por interessado que soy en los aumentos del Padre Patricio, no veo come sara possible servirle mas en esta occasion; aviendo la Francia con su postrera conquista determinada el pleyto entre el Abad Arnolfin y el Marques de Baden, en la de la Abadia de la Caridad.

But the Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo has assured me he will find some other way of shewing the esteem he has both for the merits and person of Father Patrick, to whom I hope your Excellency will do me justice, having endeavoured (though without success by this unhappy conjuncture) all that lay in my power to serve him. I kiss your Excellency's hands, and am yours, &c.

Pero el Sennor Marques me ha prometido con muchos veras de hallar otra manera di manifestar en quanto stima la personna y les meritos del dicho padre, a quien V. E. me ha de justifiar por averme empennado quanto era possible en suo negotio aunque faltado en alcancarle por la desdicha de las coyunturas.

B.L.M.D.V.E.

Su Mayor Servidor.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, March 13, N. S. 1668.

THE last post brought me none from England, nor has this week as yet brought me any from Spain; so that it is France only at this time that entertains us. The dispatch returned us late last night from Sir John Trevor, upon the point of the alternative, has given the town here occasion to talk of the peace as a thing done, though I know not yet what the Marquis says to it, having not seen him since; but think it possible he may be as much surprised with their acceptation, as, Sir John Trevor says, they were with his. It seems plain to me that France desires to pursue the war, but fears our engaging in it; and, to hinder that, will use all the address that can

Digitized by Google

be to lay the obstruction of peace upon the Spaniards. They on the other side desire to continue the war, provided they may be sure of our and Holland's assistance; and to that end, if they play their game well, they will be sure to retort the address of France upon them, and lay the blame of the war at their doors, without which they have no hopes of Holland's falling into their party; who, whether they are partial to the French or no in this quarrel, are certainly partial to the peace, and will not be drawn to share in the war but upon the last necessity. Therefore my business will be at present to induce the Marquis to clear those two scruples made by the French upon his powers, and the choice of one or other of the alternatives; in which I know not what success I am like to have after so many advances made already as he conceives on his side, and so near Don John's arrival, at least according to the present reckoning here, which persuades us that he departed from Madrid upon the 22d past.

I know your Lordship has the same papers I received from Sir John Trevor, and from what occurs upon them here, I beg your Lordship's leave that I may this once refer you to the inclosed copy of my letter this evening to him upon that subject, having not time left me to repeat it here so at large as I ought to do.

The truth is, I never had so hard a part upon me as I have at this time, to keep all in good temper between the Marquis and the deputies of Holland: for, besides, that their ends may perhaps be a little different, their complexions are extremely so: he is not the easiest of access, nor the quickest of dispatch; and his officers are at the same rate. The Dutch deputies are all upon the spur; and when they demand an audience or a paper, if they have it not within half an hour, they say, the Marquis *se mocque d'eux, & ils se trouvent obligez de l'escrire ce*

Digitized by Google

soir aux Estats, & que le Marquis ne cherche que des retardemens, & par la de les engager dans la guerre. When they receive orders to move the Marquis in any particular, they must have it granted the first time it falls in discourse, and in the very same form and words it runs in their letters; and think the Marquis ought to observe the States order and directions as punctually as they; and will reason him to the death upon every point. The Marquis, who uses to owe no man any thing in that kind, grows ten times more difficult by that time they have talked an hour, than he was at first; and, engaging in large discourses, gives them twenty occasions of growing warm upon the place, and wise afterwards by interpretations, that, God knows, were never in the case; so that in their audiences, between the Marquis's eloquence and their Leyden philosophy, the cards commonly run high, and all is pique and repique between them; and I am to go to one and the other next day to set all right again, and endeavour to make them agree asunder upon points which they could by no means agree upon together. But if I go on, I shall weary your Lordship as much as they weary me: and therefore I shall break off this letter with telling you only, that the talk here is of an attempt for the relief of Genap, and that the horse are drawing together for that purpose; with what success I know not, but am sure the French deserve none there, for continuing an attempt so long after the suspension of all enterprises was accorded. I am ever, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

Sir, Brussels, March 13, N. S. 1668.

I AM two letters in your debt since my last by the ordinary, one of the 8th, the other of the 12th; but I must needs say that your last has left you nothing

Digitized by Google

in mine. That King's answer is full and fair in my apprehension, what it will appear in the Marquis's I know not: for, since that Court cavils at his acceptation of the alternative, and calls it captious, I know not whether he may not have his revenge at theirs. Besides, Monsieur Lionne's letter, I confess, looks of a very different style from his Master's, and, in my judgment, artificial: nor do I understand great Ministers reasoning upon the intentions of Crowns, rather from common report, from passages of private men's letters, or of books made for argument, than from the open and positive declaration of Ministers, who ought to know their powers best, and how to use them. Besides, they give the Spaniards very fair play against them in this kind of war, by an action I am very much unsatisfied in, which is, beginning and continuing the siege of Genap about four leagues from hence, now the eighth day after the accord granted by France for the suspension of arms, notwithstanding our signification of it to the commander of those troops; besides the seizing of another castle five days after the said accord, though the courier came in two days from Paris, and the same haste might as easily have been made upon the other errand. In short, if France pretends to be believed here, they must give deeds as well as words; and will shew the sincerity of their intentions for peace, by consenting to the truce till the end of May, accepted already here; since, if there should be any defect in the Marquis's powers, it may be easily supplied with a little time, and any delay in the choice of the alternative repaired. In the mean while I will hope by the next courier to give you satisfaction in those points; for I neither know why the Marquis should be difficult in making his choice upon the alternative, or exposing the material clauses of his powers, which I will assure you are as full, in my apprehension, as

Digitized by Google

can be granted. In the mean time, this courier goes to you with a duplicate of Monsieur Colbert's pass (which was sent some time since to the Internuncio at Aix) with the orders sent out for the suspension of arms, and with the Marquis's naming a day for the Baron de Bergeyck's coming to Aix, in case Monsieur Colbert can be ready in that time; though I do not see how the treaty can begin till his Majesty's and the States' Ministers can be there, as well as two principals; and, in that regard, as well as many others, it will be absolutely necessary to obtain France's consent to the truce, if they would have us believe they intend the peace, and, in the mean time, to procure orders for the suspension of arms before Genap, as well as all other places.

To-morrow I expect an audience upon the choice of the alternative; though I confess I did not think, any more than the Marquis, that such declaration was necessary before the Ministers meeting at Aix; but the compliance must be on the weaker side, and, to that purpose, I shall use my best endeavours, and remain, Sir, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, March, 16, N. S. 1668.

By your Lordship's of the 28th past, I am put out of pain for the Merlin yacht, and return of the ratification upon the last treaty. The error in the forms of the preceding instruments, sent over for his Majesty's ratification, was, I suppose, occasioned, as your Lordship says, by the omission of signing both parts, which I confess was offered me by the Dutch Commissioners, but, being unpractised in those forms, I chose to follow the Ambassador's example at Breda, who signed but one.

Your Lordship sees how ill a Minister I am likely to make, if ever I must enter upon new forms, or a

Digitized by Google

character that requires being more punctual in them. I shall however say no more in answer to what your Lordship has hinted to me about the journey to Aix, having written from Antwerp all that occurred to me upon it: after which I know very well, it becomes me to leave all to the King's pleasure. I have asked the Marquis, with what character he will send the Baron de Bergeyck; he says, in quality of Plenipotentiary, but, in the rest, with power to take upon him that character the French Minister shall assume. He plainly acknowledges that in right he cannot send any man with the title of an Ambassador, which lies only between two Sovereigns; and I know not why the character of Plenipotentiary may not agree with that of Envoy Extraordinary on all hands. But the light in this point must be drawn from France, and not from this place.

Last night at an audience jointly with the Dutch deputies (which I had disposed in the morning with the Marquis, and with difficulty enough) his Excellency was content to declare his choice with the alternative, which was to leave France their conquest of last campaign, and likewise to promise us a transcription of the most material clauses: both to be sent to Sir John Trevor and Mr. Van Bouningham at Paris, to enable them to give that Court satisfaction upon their least objections against the Marquis's acceptation of the alternative. So that we have now gained the utmost point that can be desired here in pursuit of our treaty, and must leave the rest upon their hands at Paris.

The Marquis took occasion at the same time to complain hard of the French breaking the suspension by the attempt upon Genap, which was yielded to them, two days since upon conditions, after a large breach with their cannon, and seems to be designed for a post to block up this town, which they

Digitized by Google

would certainly do if they could possess themselves of Terveur and Vilvorde; the first being an abandoned place, and the second not tenable without forces to relieve it. I do not see how his Majesty and the States can refuse to oblige France to restore Genap within the time of the suspension, since no pretence of mistake or delay in the orders can appear at all sincere without the restitution, the siege continuing to the eighth day after the accord made for the suspension at Paris.

The Marquis seems to apprehend, that the effects of our having obtained from him all that France can demand in pursuit of their former proposals, or we in pursuit of our treaty, will be a sudden throwing off the mask on the French side, and making what advances they can in the war, before we and Holland are in posture to enter upon defence of this country, and therefore presses, all that can be, our arming, and concerting how to proceed in such a case: and I suppose his Majesty may think fit to encourage Holland that is so near, and already armed, to furnish them here with three or four thousand foot, for defence of their towns upon the first motions of the French to attack any of them; with assurance that his Majesty will fall into the same course, with all possible speed and vigour, and in the ways that shall be concerted.

For the supplies of money from hence, I can yet say no more than in my former, though I omit no instances upon that subject: but I doubt in the present posture here the King will lose his right, which they say will be, where nothing is. And I cannot yet find any thing drawn to a conclusion in the negotiation with Holland, for the money upon their towns. The Marquis shewed me Don Estavan's last letters yesterday upon that matter, which say, that the Dutch insist peremptorily upon all the Spaniards hold in Guelderland, and, besides, upon

Digitized by Google

Damme and two other forts in Flanders. On the other side, the Spaniards are unwilling to conclude, if a peace be like to ensue; by which means, parting from those places to the Dutch, and at the same time so many other to the French, would leave them hardly any thing here they would think worth their pains to keep: so that the conclusion of this money matter between them will depend upon the French King's answer to the truce till the end of May, and fuller declaring the continuance of his satisfaction upon the alternative; and even then I doubt it may be necessary for me to make a journey into Holland, for the perfecting that treaty between them and the Marquis, who has not yet found out the persons or ways of treating to any purpose with them. In the mean time, if I knew how far I might engage his Majesty to arm in the defence of these countries, since Spain has accepted all we propose in our treaty; I would endeavour to induce the Marquis to conclude a treaty to that purpose, and for furnishing his Majesty thereupon with certain sums at certain times, thereby to make the debt at least from Spain a certain thing whenever the money could be found. I hope to receive some light from your Lordship upon this, in answer to a former of mine, and the mean while will prepare the matter with the Marquis.

I am sufficiently warned upon the point of the *pavillon*, and will hope his Majesty's constancy therein proceeds from a resolution to take those courses and counsels which may make him as much feared abroad as any of his ancestors were, in whose time that point was first gained; for without that our pretensions will grow vain at present, and in time obsolete. In the mean while I hope some expedient will be foreseen, that may prevent the inconveniencies or unkindnesses which may happen between us and the Dutch upon this point in the present con-

Digitized by Google

juncture; and, in case of necessity, to join our fleets. The indignity offered us by la Roche in landing armed men in England, and the rest, seems the greatest I have ever heard of that kind: and how far moderation in resenting and revenging injuries, is a virtue in a Prince, or a State, as well as in a private Christian, I will not take upon me to judge. That which I know best is, that I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, March 20, N. S. 1668.

THE day after the last English pacquet's arrival, I received your Lordship's of the 2d by the Dutch Resident's conveyance, which, together with some expressions I made out of your letter, gave me occasion to conclude that your Lordship at the writing of it believed me in Holland; I know not whether upon something written by the Marquis or me; but that journey, I see, the Marquis would have depend upon the French answer to our last dispatch, and their consenting or refusing the proposed truce till May, from which he supposes it will be easy to guess a peace or a war. In the mean time I was in hopes to receive some particular commands or instructions for my carriage in Holland, not desiring to be left so much at large; and it is very possible I ought to have received them by your Lordship's last; but that new cypher will, at one time or other, cast me into despair; for, by all our skill, we cannot make out one syllable of the two long paragraphs; though making out the last short one very easily makes us see the fault must be on the writer's side, and I am apt to imagine the exactness required to this cypher is more than can agree with the haste often necessary in your Lordship's office; having observed frequent mistakes in the use of the old cypher, which yet never hindered my collection of the sense,

Digitized by Google

whereas the least of this is mortal to the whole paragraph.

I cannot yet come to any adjustment with the Marquis upon the chief point recommended to me, though I have often fallen upon the discourse, and endeavoured to engage it farther by the offer of a project I have drawn up to that purpose; but he assures me your Lordship is fallen upon it with the Count de Molina and Baron de l'Isola in England, and, when you have agreed it, will send it over hither for his Excellency to perfect; which, I confess, I think were the better way, since I am but very generally instructed in it: however, his Excellency desired me this morning to perfect the draught I had projected, that, in case we found it not concluded in England, it might be ended here.

I doubt, he will not be induced to part with what the Dutch demand in Guelderland, till he foresees plainly an inevitable war; and, till that conclusion, or Don John's arrival, all will be misery here, what could be spared being gone out upon new levies and recruits, and the very Spaniards late arrived here falling already into want; which is a piece of husbandry of all others I cannot understand, the old troops every day diminishing as the new levies advance. But they assure me, Don John brings with him in bars a million and a half of crowns, and another million and a half of the same money in remises; which is the life of all hopes here, though we cannot yet be certain of his having left Madrid; the last letters of the 29th past mentioning his indisposition, at the same time with his design of parting three days after.

Your Lordship will have found that all I could uncypher in your last was already performed here, both upon the choice of the alternative, as well as satisfaction in the powers, and disposition of the Baron Bergeyck's departing for Aix: however, I failed

Digitized by Google

not to mind the Marquis of the last this very morning; who assured me the Baron should certainly be there by the day appointed, which is the 27th of this month, and that his equipage was already well advanced; but however the compleating of it should not hinder his journey. The Baron tells me that France, upon designing Monsieur Colbert, declared his character to be of Ambassador Plenipotentiary, with reserve of joining another to him as chief of the ambassy in case of the Marquis's going; but that he (the Baron) knows not yet in what quality he shall go, leaving it wholly to the disposition of the Marquis.

I have this week a long and hearty assurance, from Monsieur de Witt, of the States resolutions to pursue the effects of our treaty, with all the vigour that can be; and, for that end, of their having given the first rendezvous to their army near Bergen-op-Zoom, from whence they may easily fall into the defence of the Spanish towns, upon the first attempt of the French after they have refused the peace: which they must now suddenly unmask themselves in, one way or other; no farther pretences being left, since our last Friday pacquets, which were repeated by an express on Sunday, and shall go by another this week for surety sake; (and your Lordship may be assured we omit no cautions we can use, in the matter of our dispatches, of which none yet has failed us:) the suspension of enterprizes is owned by the French Commanders since the taking of Genap: so that there is little now that furnishes talk here, besides the shameless treason by which Burgundy was lost, and of which the Marquis d'Yenne the Governor, his nephew the Count de St. Amour, and Don John de Batteville have chief honour; the last being employed by the Marquis to treat with the Switzers for the protection of that country. The villainy and foulness of this action make the Spaniards say

Digitized by Google

here, that a great King should rather have sent his lacqueys, than gone himself, to receive such a conquest. I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Brussels, March 23, N. S. 1668.

I BELIEVE you may wonder on that side, as well as many do on this, both here and in Holland, at the election the Marquis has lately made of the alternative offered by France, after so long a deliberation, as might have served him to make a wiser choice. For, if Spain had parted with the county of Burgundy, Cambray, Air, and St. Omer; though they had furnished France with a better frontier, yet they had kept a good one for the rest of these countries on both sides; whereas, parting with the late conquered places, besides their large dependencies, which straiten their territories that should maintain their armies, their whole frontier is laid open on the side of Flanders, by the loss of Douay, Lisle, and Tournay, and, on the other side, by that of Aeth and Charleroy; which leaves the Spaniards the open towns of Louvain and Brussels for a frontier on this side, and those of Ghent and Bruges on the other; and the country so pierced by the French conquest, as what remains will be the work but of one campaign, whenever the counsels or forces of England and Holland shall fail or delay to defend them.

The reasoners here pretend to say, that Spain could not part with the * French County, because they must with it quit the title they yet retain of Dukes of Burgundy; and, besides, they would thereby lose their communication wholly with Lorrain, and in a great measure with the Empire: This last is indeed of weight, though the first be but airy. But

* Burgundy.

Digitized by Google

neither of them I take to have determined the Marquis in his choice; and, having in various conferences penetrated his inmost thoughts upon this subject, I judged it necessary to acquaint your Lordship with them; that his Majesty, knowing perfectly the dispositions of his neighbours, may the better take his own measures, in this great conjuncture. But, to explain this matter, I must run it up to the original.

Your Lordship remembers, that after the French invasions and successes last year in Flanders, and the peace at Breda, when they found how much both England and Holland resented the progress of their arms in Flanders; they sent a declaration to the States-General, that they were willing to make a peace with Spain, either upon Spain's quitting all their right to the late conquered places, or else to the county of Burgundy, Cambray, Air, and St. Omers, and would leave to Spain the choice of either of these alternatives. The Dutch were perplexed what use to make of this declaration, being frighted at the danger of Flanders, but newly and faintly reconciled to England, and not knowing how we would take the invasion of Flanders. In these doubts I found them when his Majesty sent me first to sound their intentions, and, immediately after, to enter into leagues with them, for our own mutual defence, and that of Flanders. The King would have joined with them for the recovery of all the Spaniards had lost in Flanders, either by a peace or a war. The province of Utrecht was for this resolution; but the Pensioner and the other six Provinces were for accepting the offer of the alternative made by France, and obliging Spain to make their choice, as well as France to stand by their own proposal. Upon these terms the triple alliance was concluded, but with different views, both of Holland and of Spain. The truth is, Holland was

Digitized by Google

unwilling to break off their ancient amity with France, and embark in a war, with the conjunction of such an old enemy as Spain, and such a new friend as England. They reckoned on a peace upon one of the alternatives, and were solicitous only to preserve Flanders as a frontier for Holland against France, without considering the interests of Spain further than as they appeared to be their own. They reckoned certainly upon Spain's chusing to part with Burgundy, Cambray, &c. which lay far from Holland, and recovering the towns they had lost in Flanders, by which their country would be left defensible, at least with the assistances of England and Holland.

On the other side Spain, though they professed the greatest sense that could be of what they owed his Majesty, upon the late generous advances he had made in their favour; yet they were enraged at Holland, for seconding so ill his Majesty's resolutions, and turning it upon the choice only of an alternative, by which the Spaniards were to lose so great territories, and part with their right to them, instead of recovering the possession they had yet only lost. They took it as the greatest indignity in the world, that Holland should pretend to oblige the Crown of Spain to accept the very conditions of France, after an invasion so unjust, as they esteemed this last. They were at first upon the thoughts of parting with all they had in the Low Countries to France, upon some equivalent on the side of Spain; and thereby both end the charge of keeping Flanders, and be revenged upon the Dutch, by leaving them open and exposed to the neighbourhood of France. The Marquis once assured me, that most of the council of Spain were for making this desperate peace; and that, for his own part, he was inclined to it, though more out of spite to the Dutch, than what he thought was the true interest of Spain. After some

Digitized by Google

pause, this heat of the Spaniards began to cool: they saw the Spanish Crown, by parting with Flanders, must abandon all commerce with the Princes and States on this side that country; and that, upon a new war with France about the succession, they should have no way left of diverting the French forces from falling upon Spain itself. And so, with much ado, they resolved to accept the alternative; but left the choice to the Marquis here, as best enlightened in all the interests of Flanders, as well as the dispositions of their neighbours.

The Marquis hated the peace upon either of the alternatives, and desired nothing but the continuance of the war, with the assistance of England and Holland, to which he saw his Majesty inclinable, and thought the States would be induced to, rather than venture an agreement between Spain and France, for the exchange of Flanders: he thought, that, if they yielded Burgundy and the remote frontiers, Holland would be secure, and France would perhaps be contented to let the peace rest upon those terms during the King of Spain's tender life: but, if he yielded all the late conquered towns to France, Holland would be in perpetual alarm for the danger of the rest; England would be likewise the more concerned, and both, being obliged to be continually armed, to prevent the danger of Flanders, would find it their interest, rather to enter into such a war, as might end in a safer peace, than by a patched peace to lie always in danger of a new war, whenever France should be in a condition of carrying the rest of Flanders, by any sudden invasion, or by any discontent of counsels or interests between us and Holland.

Besides, the Marquis imagines, that France will either endeavour to avoid the peace now offered; or, if they conclude it for the present, that, being possessed of the frontiers of Flanders, they will not

Digitized by Google

ong resist the temptation of carrying the rest, being n a manner but open country; and thereby engage oth us and Holland to assist Spain with all our orces, which, he thinks, must make the war pro- perous, or a peace secure. So that, upon the whole, he Marquis has chosen this alternative, not from ny desire of making the peace at present, but only n the view, either of carrying on the present war, r of making another with the strength of his neigh- ours.

Your Lordship may easily judge, how much the Dutch are like to be disappointed and offended with he Spaniards for this choice: so that I cannot pre- end to guess what is like to become of a peace vhich both France and Spain come to so unwilling- y, and which England and Holland promote upon onditions which they both dislike. And so I leave his perplexed affair, and ask your Lordship's par- lon for this long deduction, which I should not ave troubled your Lordship or myself with, but hat I thought you would come to know the true prings of it no other way: and which I could not ave known, if the Marquis were not a very warm alker, and sometimes farther than he intended. am ever, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

Brussels, March 25, N. S. 1668.

Sir,

By Monsieur Van Beuning- en's dispatches of the 21st, ou will have known the an- wer of the French Court upon he truce we desired, which in ny opinion seems to make the var inevitable; and that all the ppearances France has made f desiring a peace, are levelled t no other mark but to slacken he resolutions of the allies from

A Monsieur de Witt.

Bruxelles, le 25 Mars, S. N. 1668.

Monsieur,

Vous avez appris, par les depêches de Monsieur Van Beuninghen du 21 du courant, la réponse de la Cour de France sur la trève tant desirée: cette réponse selon moi semble rendre la guerre inévitable; & il paroit que toutes les mines que la France fait de la vouloir, ne tendent à autre but qu'à refroidir les alliés sur le secours des Païs-Bas, ou du

Digitized by Google

assisting Flanders; or, at least, to gain six weeks time to enlarge their conquests, before the Spaniards can either receive the recruits they expected, or the assistance of their neighbours for defending their most considerable places. For, as to what the French propose, of restoring all they shall conquer between the end of this month and the 15th of May, it seems to me to be too gross, and to discover a contempt of our wit as well as of our treaty: for if all our offices and offers to make Spain ratify what the Marquis has accepted, are not sufficient to with-hold them six weeks, from what they pretend to restore, how will they be capable of restoring for ever what they have already taken? I cannot see how their manner of accusing and making exceptions to the absolute powers of a Minister of Spain; and all this founded upon particular intelligence they pretend to have from the court at Madrid, nor the formal objections they make against the delegation of the Baron de Bergeyck, when at the same time they send Monsieur Colbert to Aix la Chapelle; how, I say, all this can admit better interpretation in what regards their intentions for the peace: for, in whatever comes from these Ministers at Paris, I think one may discover an irregular ambition under a great deal of affectation and disguise, whereof God only knows the issue.

moins à gagner un mois & demi de tems, afin de pousser ses conquêtes, avant que les Espagnols puissent recevoir leurs recruites, ou des secours de leurs voisins pour munir leurs plus importantes places. Car, à l'égard de l' offre qu'elle fait, de restituer tout ce qui sera conquis entre la fin de ce mois & le 15 de Mai, cela me paroit trop grossier, & découvre même son mépris pour nos éspritz aussi bien que de nôtre traité. Car, si tous nos soins, & nos bons offices, joints à l'offre que nous faisons de faire ratifier par l'Espagne les articles dejà acceptés par le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, n'ont pû obtenir de la France qu'elle renonce pour six semaines au dessein de tenter de nouvelles conquêtes, qui sont, au reste, les seules qu'elle offre de restituer; si tout cela, dis je, est vrai, nous pouvons-nous flater que nous en obtiendrons la restitution entiere? Je ne vois pas que leur manière de chicaner, & de faire des exceptions contre les pleins-pouvoirs d'un Ministre d'Espagne, & tout cela fondé sur les avis particuliers que la France pretend avoir de la cour de Madrid, non plus que les objections formelles qu'elle fait contre la delegation du Baron du Bergeyck, en même tems qu'elle envoye Monsieur Colbert à Aix la Chapelle, puissent recevoir de meilleurs interpretations par rapport à leurs intentions pour la paix: car dans tout ce qui part de ces Ministres, il me semble qu' on decouvre une ambition dereglée, qui se couvre sous une addresse recherchée, & des manieres trop étudiées pour être sinceres. Dieu sait ce qui en est.

Digitized by Google

For myself, I will tell you in confidence, and with my usual freedom, my opinion in all this. I think then, in the first place, that by all our negotiations, though never so well managed; by all our offices and caresses; we shall never obtain a peace from France, while they have any appearances of pursuing their interest or their glory in carrying on the war: and that the only way of disposing them to a peace, is to order it so, as they may only find their interests in it; which we can no otherwise do, but by shewing them the strength of our forces, and the firmness of our resolutions before the war begins; and, since we only draw a war on ourselves by desiring a peace, to endeavour on the contrary to draw on the peace by making all the appearances of desiring a war.

Therefore I think, that what remains to be done is, to advance as much as possible our preparations and forces by sea and land; and let the most Christian King know by our Ministers, that since his Majesty still declares he is content with the alternative already accepted by the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo, and that all the difficulty his Majesty finds, is only upon the powers of the said Marquis, and the sincerity of intentions in the Court of Spain: we therefore desire his Majesty to give us so much time by a suspension of arms, as may be sufficient to send a dispatch to Madrid, and return to Paris

Pour moi, je vous dirai, avec ma confiance & ma franchise ordinaires, mon sentiment sur tout cela. C'est que par toutes sortes de négociations les mieux conduites, par toutes sortes de cajoleries, & de caresses, & par tant de bons offices réïterés, nous ne pourrons jamais obtenir la paix de la France, pendant qu'elle est flatée par les apparences, & qu'elle juge qu'il est & de son interêt & de sa gloire de pousser la guerre; & que par consequent le seul moyen de la disposer à la paix c'est de faire en sorte que la paix seule puisse s'accorder avec ses interêts. Pour cela il me semble, que la seule voye qui nous est offerte, est de faire une grande montre de nos forces, de paroitre bien résolus à la guerre, avant que la guerre commence: car puisque nous attirons la guerre en voulant trop fortement la paix, il faut tâcher au contraire d'attirer la paix en faisant toutes les mines de vouloir la guerre.

C'est pourquoi, il me semble que ce qui reste à faire, c'est de hâter nos préparatifs, & de mettre toutes nos forces en état tant par mer que par terre: de faire dire en même tems par nos Ministres au Roi très Chrêtien, que puisque sa Majesté paroit disposée à se contenter de l'alternative dejà acceptée par le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, & que toute la difficulté roule sur les pouvoirs du dit Marquis, & sur la sincerité des intentions de la cour d'Espagne; nous la prions de nous accorder par une suspension d'armes autant de tems qu'il en faut pour depêcher à Madrid, & de Madrid revenir à Paris avec une réponse, j'entens une réponse

Digitized by Google

with a full and plain answer from the King of Spain upon the alternative. (And truly I think a month's time will be sufficient after the dispatches of our expresses from Paris.) But in the mean time to add, that if his Majesty refuses us a demand so necessary to the peace of Christendom, and will still carry on his arms without consideration of the offers of Spain, or offices of the allies; that, upon the first advances he shall make to attack the rest of Flanders, we will march with our forces to defend it, and endeavour farther by all ways to give him a diversion both by sea and land.

This I think is all that is left us to do upon the present state of affairs, for obtaining the peace: and, as to the inward dispositions of the Spaniards, I will tell you, that there is not one of them here, of the least consideration, who does not desire it, and think it wholly for the present interest of Spain: and the Marquis assures me in confidence, that he has not only the power exhibited, but that the King his Master has given him others, by which he leaves him absolute arbiter of the conditions of the peace, according as conjunctures shall serve to make him accept either an equal or a disadvantageous one. And all the delays of Don John seem only to proceed from their hopes of a peace upon the project of our treaty.

In the mean time I am glad the States have sent Monsieur Van Beverning to be at Aix with the Ministers of both

nette & precise de la Reine d'Espagne, touchant l'alternative, dont les deux parties temoignent se contenter (& pour moi il me semble, qu'un mois après le départ de nos couriers de Paris sera suffisant) d'ajoûter en même tems, que si sa Majesté nous refuse une demande si necessaire au répos de la Chrêtienté, & veut sans égard pour les offres d'Espagne, & les offices des alliés, pousser ses armes plus loin; que sur la premiere demarche qu'elle fera pour attaquer le reste des Pais-Bas, nous ferons avancer nos troupes pour les defendre, & tâcherons de produire une puissante diversion tant par mer que par terre.

Voilà ce me semble tout ce qui nous reste à tenter sur l'état present des affaires, afin d'obtenir la paix. Et pour ce qui est des dispositions interieures des Espagnols, je vous dirai qu'il n'y en a pas un seul ici tant soit peu considerable, qui ne la souhaite, & qui ne croit y voir l'interêt present de l'Espagne. Le Marquis m'a assuré en confiance qu'il n'a pas seulement les pouvoirs exhibés, mais de plus, que le Roi lui en a donné encore un autre, par lequel il le rend arbitre absolu des conditions de la paix, selon que les conjunctures le devront déterminer à la recevoir à des conditions ou égales ou desavantageuses. Et tous les retardemens de Don Juan ne semblent provenir que de ce qu'il espère une paix conforme au projet de nôtre traité.

En attendant, je suis bien aise de ce que les Etats font partir Monsieur Van Beverning, pour se trouver à Aix avec les Mi-

Digitized by Google

Crowns; I doubt not but the King my Master will do the same, when he shall have received advice of their departure; for forms must be observed as well as substance; though for my share I cannot imagine to what effect this congress will meet: France having declared itself already upon the invalidity of the delegation in particular, as well as of the powers in general. And truly I think, all pretence of negotiation without a cessation of arms seems a mere jest in an affair where two months progress in the war may so near end the dispute upon which they pretend to treat. I am, Sir, your, &c.

nistres des deux Couronnes; je ne doute pas que le Roi mon Maitre ne fâsse la même demarche, quand il aura reçu avis de leur départ; car il faut satisfaire aux formes aussi bien qu'au fond; quoique pour moi, je ne puisse imaginer quel effet resultera de ce congrès; la France s'étant déja declarée sur l'invalidité de la delegation en particulier, aussi bien que sur les pouvoirs en général. Et pour moi, toute apparence de negociation avant une cessation d'armes me paroît une pure mocquerie, surtout dans une conjoncture où deux mois de guerre & de progrès peuvent changer la face des choses, & decider le différence sur lequel on va traiter. Je suis, &c.

To Mr. Godolphin.

Sir, Brussels, March 27, N. S. 1668.

I RECEIVED lately the favour of some lines from you n a letter of my wife's, which were the first I remember to have seen of yours these five or six months ast, though I never failed on my part to entertain he commerce between us as became both our staions, and the kindness with which it began on both ides, as I thought; I am sure on mine, till I took our silence as a civil declaration that you were villing it should end: and the compliance I was deirous to shew you in all things would not suffer me o deny it you in this. I find it very difficult to anwer your last otherwise than by giving you thanks or the favour of your remembrance, which indeed thought had been better employed than upon one who has for so long time so little deserved it. For hose expressions you are pleased to use so much beow yourself, and so much above me, I confess they

Digitized by Google

rather confound than oblige me, since I am not fond of receiving what I despair of returning. I know no reason at all I had to be angry with you, but much rather with myself, if, having been once possessed of your friendship, you found I did not deserve it: but, as I reckoned that loss among my ill fortunes, so I shall among my good, whenever you return to your former dispositions of favour to me, though the misery of the scene where I live will teach me to be fond of no possessions that I am in danger of losing; and, to a plain equal man like me, the certainty of an estate seems more valuable than the greatness of it. But I have as much ambition for my friends advances, as others have for their own; and therefore rejoice in all your good fortunes in Spain, and wish you an increase of them in your next designs. I am, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Brussels, April 3, N. S. 1668.

I RECEIVED some days since the honour of one from your Lordship of the 9th past, and, though I owe all the acknowledgments that can be upon it, yet I will not so much wrong your Lordship's time, or my own sincereness, as to enlarge them with much ceremony. It will be enough to say, that nothing can be more obliging than your favour to me, both in the degree and manner of it, arising so freely from your Lordship's bounty and generousness, as well as expressed in a way so frank and so hearty as that of your last letter; and, on the other side, that no man can resent it more, though they may much better deserve it: and that your Lordship can never reckon more truly, nor more justly, upon any person's esteem and services, than upon mine, which I humbly beg your Lordship to believe. I doubt you will be troubled with my wife's attendances,

Digitized by Google

having told her, your Lordship had given her that liberty: if ever she pretends your favour and countenance farther than in receiving what the King has made my due upon this employment while I have it, or what his Majesty shall, from his own motion, assign me, upon any new commission; I disclaim her beforehand, and declare she goes not upon my errand; for I shall never think that too little which his Majesty thinks enough: for the rest, I will be confident neither your Lordship nor my Lord Arlington intend I should ruin myself by my employments, or that I should, at my own charge, bear out a character, which, of itself, is enough to turn round a head that has all its life, till these last three years, been used to shade and silence. In case the occasion should break, and my journey to Aix should yet fail, I ask nothing of his Majesty, though putting myself in a posture to comply with any sudden necessity of it has already forced me to enter into very considerable expences: but, in case I must go, I beg your Lordship, that has children, to consider how hard it would be for me to perform such a journey upon my own credit. Whatever it be his Majesty thinks fit to assign me upon such an occasion, if he pleases to order Alderman Backwell to furnish me with a letter of credit for so much, let it be what it will, I will live according to what that and my own little revenue will reach, and not spare any little presents I have received in his Majesty's service, where his honour requires it: all I desire is only not to be forced into debts, which, to say the truth, I have ever abhorred, and would by my good will eat dry crusts, and lie upon the floor, rather than do it upon any other consideration, than of his Majesty's immediate commands, and I hope those, his justice, and my friend's favour, will prevent.

I beg your Lordship's pardon for troubling you

Digitized by Google

with this strange freedom about my own concernments, which you have pleased to encourage me to, and may at any time check me in it, with the least discountenance, which I doubt I have already deserved. But I will not increase or lengthen my faults by excuses, nor trouble your Lordship, by repeating any thing of what my Lord Arlington receives from me at large, upon the course of public affairs here; which, though seeming to change often in others eyes, appears to me constant in the French design of a war; which I believe nothing can alter, but the visible marks of force and steadiness in their neighbours to oppose them.

I beg your Lordship's belief, that, as I am with very great reason, so I am with very great passion too, my Lord, your, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

Brussels, April 17, N. S.

Sir, 1668.

I DOUBT not but you are pleased as much as I at the contents of the last dispatches from Paris, which make us believe, that in two or three days we shall have the suspension of arms to the end of May; and then I do not see the least difficulty that can happen, which we shall not easily avoid in the negotiation of the peace; for I see not how France can draw back, after the satisfaction we are going to give them at Paris: and, for Spain, I never had the least scruple upon their conduct: and I still believe, as ever I did, that unless we drive them to despair by ill usage, neither the Spanish nation in general, nor the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo in particular, will have recourse

A Monsieur de Witt.

Bruxelles, le 17 *Avr.* S. N.

Monsieur, 1668.

Je ne doute pas que vous ne vous rejouissez autant que moi du contenu des dernieres depêches de Paris, qui nous donnent lieu de croire que dans deux ou trois jours nous aurons une suspension d'armes jusqu' à la fin de Mai; & cela étant, je ne vois point de difficulté qui puisse survenir, dont nous ne venions facilement à bout dans le cours de la negociation de la paix. Car je ne vois pas comment la France pourra reculer après la satisfaction que nous lui allons donner à Paris. A l'égard d'Espagne, je n'ai jamais eu le moindre scrupule sur sa conduite; & je crois encore, comme l'ai toujours crû, qu'à moins que nous ne la reduisions au desespoir à force de la traiter de haut en bas; ni le

Digitized by Google

to any base evasions. And to speak to you in confidence (as it is necessary between physicians) since the resolution you have talked of about driving the Spaniards wholly out of this country, and cantoning yourselves in it; and since so many violent instances made by your Deputies for signing Monsieur de Lyonne's project without altering a word, or so much as giving the Marquis any assurance of assisting him in case France should draw back (according to the orders of the Queen) I have often heard his Excellency say, that, if he were now in the council of Spain, he would give his advice without farther difficulty, for making peace with France by delivering this country up to them, rather than suffer such a treatment from all their neighbours, who are more interested in the loss of it than themselves. For it cannot enter into the Marquis's head, why we should give France more assurances than they desire, in case of Spain's refusing the alternative, and even contrary to our treaty at the Hague; and yet refuse to give Spain the bare assurances of the words of our treaty, in case of France's refusal after having driven Spain to all we can ask. Neither can the Marquis imagine why we press him so much to sign a project word for word from Monsieur de Lyonne, without first using our endeavours at Paris to reduce the affairs of cities in the heart of the country to some reasonable exchange; as we have always promised him, and as I

nation Espagnole en géneral, ni le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo en particulier, n'auront point recours à de honteux subterfuges. Et pour vous dire en confidence (comme il faut faire entre médecins) depuis que vous avez parlé de la résolution de chasser les Espagnols des Païs-Bas, & de vous y cantonner; depuis tant d'instances réitérées faites par vos Deputez pour la signature du projet de Monsieur de Lionne, sous la condition de ne rien changer, & même sans lui donner la moindre esperance de l'assister en cas que la France recule, conformement aux ordres de la Reine; depuis celà (dis-je) j'ai souvent oüi dire à son Excellence, que s'il étoit à cette heure au conseil d'Espagne, que son avis seroit, qu'on fît sans marchander l'accord avec la France, en lui donnant tout ce païs, plutôt que d'endurer un traitement pareil de la part de tous les Etats voisins de la Flandre; lesquels doivent être plus interessés dans la perte de ces Provinces, que les Espagnols eux-mêmes. Car il ne peut pas entrer dans l'éspris du Marquis, que nous donnions à la France plus d'assurance qu'elle n'en desire, supposé le réfus d'Espagne, & cela même contre nôtre traité de la Haye; & que nous refusions à l'Espagne de l'assurer simplement des clauses de notre traité pour elle, en cas que la France réfuse, surtout après avoir poussé l'Espagne à faire tout ce que nous avons voulu. Le Marquis n'imagine point aussi, pourquoi nous le pressons tant pour la signature mot-à-mot du projet de Monsieur de Lionne, sans faire par avance tous nos

Digitized by Google

let him see in one of your letters; nay without once endeavouring to hinder the devastations in the Franche Compté. So that by this project, he sees clearly, he must be confined within Brussels as in a prison, shut up by French garrisons, within seven leagues of him on one side, and eight on the other; and that Burgundy may be invaded as an open country, without the possibility of defending it a day. And, if the peace be made upon these terms, every one may see that France will only wait till we are engaged in a quarrel with our neighbours, or till some misunderstanding happen between our two nations, to finish the conquest of this country, which they may do in fifteen days. However, the Marquis says, that, in case we will give him assurances to follow the third of our separate articles, he is ready to sign himself, or give powers to sign even Monsieur de Lyonne's project immediately, as the foundation of the treaty; and will rely upon our good offices to negotiate either some convenient exchange for Burgundy, or to have it restored in the condition it was taken; or else find means to repair the towns demolished. In case you will not be persuaded to give him these assurances, we must endeavour to finish it altogether at Aix, whither I shall begin my journey as soon as we shall have received the suspension of arms. And I shall not fail to pursue, as effectually as I can, both there and at other places, the accomplishment of this great

efforts à Paris, pour reduire l'affaire des villes situées dans le cœur des provinces à quelque échange raisonnable: cela lui avoit toujours été promis; & je l'en ai moi-même assuré par une de vos lettres que je lui ai fait voir. Il s'étonne encore pourquoi nous ne fassions pas nos efforts pour empêcher la demolition des places dans la Franche Compté. De sorte qu'il voit très-clairement, que par ce projet il sera dans Bruxelles comme en prison, ou en ôtage à l'égard de la France, ses garnisons d'un côté n'en étant qu'à huit lieües, & de l'autre qu'à sept. Il voit de plus que, les forces de France entreront dans la Bourgogne comme dans un plat païs, sans qu'on la puisse couvrir un jour entier. Que si la paix se fait dans ces termes, tout le monde voit que la France n'attendra que le moment de la premiere desunion entre quelqu'uns de nos voisins, ou de la plus legere mesintelligence entre nos deux nations, pour achever la conquête des Païs-Bas, qui ne lui coutera plus de quinze jours. Pourtant le Marquis dit, qu'en cas que nous lui donnions des assurances de poursuivre le troisième de nos articles separés, il est prêt de signer ou donner les pouvoirs de signer le projet même selon les termes de Monsieur de Lionne, comme servant de fondement au traité: qu'il s'en remettra à nos soins & à nos bons offices pour la negociation de quelque échange commode à l'égard de la Bourgogne, ou bien d'une restitution en l'état où elle a été prise, ou pour trouver les moyens de reparer les villes demolies. En cas que vous lui re-

Digitized by Google

affair; and shall be glad to receive your advice, from time to time, upon the conduct of this negotiation.

fusiez à tous ces égards les assurances qu'il demande, il faudra que nous tâchions de reprendre & d'achever le tout ensemble, & d'un même filet à Aix la Chapelle; où je commencerai à m'acheminer dès que nous aurons reçu nouvelle de la suspension d'armes, & je ne manquerai pas là, non plus qu'ailleurs, de poursuivre de tout mon pouvoir la conclusion de cette grande affaire. Je serai bien-aise de recevoir de tems en tems vos avis sur la manière dont cette negociation sera conduite.

Before I go, I must tell you freely, that, the less of business you leave between the Marquis and your Deputies here, I think it will be so much the better for the general affair: for, in one word, they are not persons made for each other; the Marquis being of a humour rather to die than be governed in the management of business: and he says, Mons. Bourgersdycke is a man not to be employed but where you absolutely give the law. I have already hinted something of this to you; but now I think it necessary you should be informed of it, that you may do thereupon as you shall find convenient; for I have not observed one thing in the course of this affair, which you and I could not have compassed without the least heat or discontent: and I will not tell you the pain and cares I have been at to manage matters between them, and prevent their breaking out into violences upon so many occasions; which I endeavoured by all means to avoid; because I know the dis-

Avant que je parte, il faut que je vous dise franchement, que le moins d'affaires que vous donnerez à discuter avec le Marquis à vos Deputés, sera le meilleur pour la cause commune; car, en un mot, ce ne sont point des gens faits les uns pour les autres. Le Marquis est d'un humeur à braver plutôt la mort, que de souffrir d'être matrîsé dans la conduite & le maniement des affaires. Il dit, que Monsieur Bourgersdycke n'est propre à être employé que dans les lieux où vous donnez souverainement la loi. Je vous en avois déjà touché quelque chose, mais je croi à cette heure qu'il est necessaire de vous le dire, afin que sur cela vous en usiez comme vous le jugerez à propos. Je n'ai encore rien remarqué dans le cours de cette affaire dont je ne fûsse venu à bout avec vous sans le moindre chagrin, mais même avec agrément; et je ne vous dirai point les peines & les soucis que j'ai eu à menager toutes choses entr' eux, & à prevenir des éclats & les reparties picquantes qu'ils étoient prêts de se faire à tout bout

Digitized by Google

positions of Ministers are often infused into their masters. I see nothing in the world that can hinder the peace at present, unless France finds some misunderstandings between us and Spain. To tell you the truth, many people would persuade me, that you have changed your measures since I left Holland: but I answer every body, that I trust so much to the sincerity of your proceedings, that I do not doubt, but, if it were so, yourself would be the first to inform me,

de champ; j'ai employé pour cela toute mon adresse; car je faisois cette reflexion, que les dispositions, ou, si vous voulez, les passions des Ministres ont une grande influence sur celles des maîtres. A cette heure je ne vois plus rien qui puisse empêcher la paix, si ce n'est que la France vît la dissension se glisser entre l'Espagne & nous. A ne vous rien céler, il y a ici beaucoup de gens qui voudroient bien me persuader que vous avez changé de mesures depuis mon départ d'Hollande; mais je leur répons à tous, que je me repose si fort sur vôtre sincerité, & à la candeur de vôtre procédé, que supposé que ce qu'ils disent fût, vous auriez été le premier à m'en instruire.

You see what confidence I have in your person, and you may safely have the same in that of, Sir, your, &c.

Voila quelle est la confiance que j'ai en vous, & vous pouvez avoir la même en, Monsieur, votre, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Aix, April 28, N. S. 1668.

I NEVER writ to your Lordship in worse health, nor in worse humour, and therefore you could never receive a worse letter than this is like to be. The ceremonies of my journey your Lordship shall find in a letter to Mr. Williamson, so soon as a fever, which is now upon me, gives me leave to say one word more than what I think of absolute necessity; for so, I conceive, all I have now written to the Marquis is. The despight of seeing the Baron de Bergeyck yet refuse to sign the project of the treaty, without another dispatch from the Marquis, after that I brought him, is enough to lose all patience; my ill humour, I confess, is not lessened by seeing myself here, with equal character to other Mini-

Digitized by Google

sters, and without possibility, in this place, of putting myself in an equipage suitable to them, which I could not think possible neither to provide myself before my journey, considering the uncertainty of it almost to the very last, and the assurance I came with from the Marquis of the treaty's being signed the first moment. I assured the Marquis de Bergeyck, that I thought it necessary, so that I hoped three days would end our business, which I believed his Majesty would unwillingly see done without his intervention, and would be content to have all men think as they have done here, ever since the convention began (and perhaps every-where else) that nothing could be done till the King's Minister came, and that would immediately close the affair. The rest I must refer to the inclosed copy of my letter this night to the Marquis, by an express; and beg your Lordship to give me leave to rest a very weary distempered head, which yet can never forget how much I am, my Lord, &c.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Aix, April 28, N. S.
My Lord, 1668.

I ARRIVED yesterday in this city. This afternoon I received a visit from the Baron de Bergeyck, and another from Monsieur Colbert. I treated them both equally, upon a message by a gentleman sent from the Baron to inform me, that he was already qualified Ambassador of Spain, by the letters and powers of the Queen herself. Monsieur Beverning visited me this morning incognito; and all that a great indisposition will suffer me to tell you at present is this: that it is not possi-

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

A Aix, le 28 Avr. S. N.
Monsieur, 1668.

J'arrivai hier en cette ville. J'ai reçu cette après-dinée une visite de la part du Baron de Bergeyck, & une autre de la part de Monsieur Colbert. Je les ai traités tous également, sur la parole que le gentilhomme envoyé de la part du Baron m'a donnée, que son maître étoit déjà revêtu du titre d'Ambassadeur, & qu'il étoit muni des lettres & des pleins-pouvoirs de la Reine elle-même. Monsieur Beverning m'a aussi visité incognito ce matin; & tout ce qu'une grande indisposition qui me retient à pre-

Digitized by Google

ble to make any other paces for saving the Netherlands, but by immediately signing the project sent to the Baron de Bergeyck: for every body expected the signing of it upon my arrival. The French Ambassador declares every-where, as he has already done to me, that he is ready to sign this very evening, and in all points as they have been couched by our own Ministers at Paris. And, if the Baron makes any exceptions or difficulties, he is ready to give answer thereupon, according to his instructions, and as he shall think convenient: but that Spain must impute to itself whatever may happen by this loss of time. I see plainly he is ready to second and assist the Baron de Bergeyck in any delays that may be given to the affair; and foreseeing that it must at length pass in the words of this project, since we and Holland are already engaged about it at Paris; he hopes either to see the affair break, or to have the honour to make Spain yield at last upon all difficulties they first raised. In the mean while, Monsieur Beverning pretends to think, that, after the orders given to the Baron de Bergeyck, and the copies of them sent into Holland, no difficulties can arise upon the signing: and, for me I cannot refuse to carry the orders, and am in the greatest pain imaginable to see the Baron still make a difficulty to sign without another order from your Excellency. Therefore I desire you, in the name of all those who wish well to the af-

sent permet que je dise à V. E. c'est, qu'il ne reste plus d'autre demarche à faire pour sauver les Païs-Bas, que de signer incessamment le projet envoyé au Baron de Bergeyck; cela est si vrai que même à mon arrivée tout le monde en attendoit la signature. Celui de France declare partout, après avoir declaré à moi-même, qu'il est prêt de signer dès ce soir même tous les points, tels qu'ils ont été couchés par nos Ministres à Paris. Que si le Baron de Bergeyck fait ou des difficultés, ou des exceptions, il donnera ses réponses conformement à ses instructions, & selon l'exigence des choses; & qu'après tout, l'Espagne ne doit attribuer qu'à elle seule les malheurs qui peuvent naître de tant de délais & de tems perdu. Je vois fort bien, qu'il est prêt à suivre & à aider le Baron de Bergeyck dans tous les retardemens qu'on pourra apporter à la conclusion de cette affaire; & que prevoyant que l'Espagne doit enfin s'accommoder des conditions & des termes du traité, vû l'engagement où la Hollande & nous sommes deja entrés par nos Ministres à Paris; il se promet ou d'avoir l'affaire se rompre, ou d'avoir la gloire de faire ceder l'Espagne sur toutes les difficultés qu'elle aura mises en avant: cependant, Monsieur Beverning ne s'attend point à voir susciter de nouveaux obstacles, & de nouvelles difficultés touchant cette signature, après des ordres donnés au Baron de Bergeyck, & dont les copies ont été envoyées en Hollande. Pour moi, après l'avoir promis, je n'ai pû reculer à porter les ordres, & je suis dans la plus grande peine

Digitized by Google

fairs of Spain and of Christendom, to dispatch an express command to the Baron, to sign without farther trifling, and to send him instructions for any thing that your Excellency shall find convenient to have negotiated afterwards; in which I shall have Monsieur Beverning's assistance, but not at all before the project is signed.

If your Excellency will not think fit to comply with this, I discharge myself at least of all the fatal effects that may arrive upon it. I desire your Excellency yet once more to grant this dispatch to the instances of one who had sounded the bottom of this affair with all possible attention, and all the reflections I am capable of making; and who forms a judgment of it, without other passion than that I have for the preservation of Flanders. I am, &c.

du monde de voir que le Baron de Bergeyck fait difficulté de signer avant que d'avoir reçû un autre ordre de V. E. c'est pourquoi, je la supplie, au nom de tous ceux qui souhaitent le bien des affaires d'Espagne & de la Chrêtienté, d'ordonner par un commandement exprès, que l'ordre soit signé, & qu'on n'y marchande plus. V. E. donnera aussi ses avis au Baron de Bergeyck touchant ce qu'elle trouvera bon qui soit negocié dans la suite; cela fait, je pourrai compter sur le secours & l'aide de M. Beverning, du quel je n'attens rien tandis que la chose sera comme elle est.

En cas que V. E. suive d'autres voyes, je me décharge par avance de toutes les suites funestes qui en pourront arriver. Je supplie encore une fois V. E. de donner cela aux instances d'une personne qui a approfondi cette affaire avec toute l'attention & la reflexion dont je suis capable; & qui en porte un jugement exempt de passion, excepté celle qu'il a pour la conservation des Païs-Bas. Je suis, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Aix, April 30, N. S. 1668.

In the hurry of these expresses to Brussels, all that I can possibly do, is to give your Lordship the account of the state of our business here, in the copy of those letters I am forced to write to the Marquis. To which end the Ambassadors of Spain and Holland have been very often with me already, though I have not yet stirred out of doors, and they are but now gone successively from my bed-side. The

Digitized by Google

fruits of our conferences your Lordship will find in the inclosed, and will pardon me for doing nothing more at this time, than barely acknowledging, and that in extreme haste, yours of the 10th and 13th, which are come here to my hands: the torn paper is an original of a postscript I received just now in a letter from Monsieur de Witt, which I send in answer to one I had lately from your Lordship. The inclosed from my Secretary to Mr. Williamson gives account of all the ceremonies that have been hitherto past. I am ever, &c.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Aix, April 30, N. S.
My Lord, 1668.

I AM very much indisposed, and God keep me from those accidents, which the despight I have upon the present course of affairs may cause in my illness. All I have to say is, that the Ambassador of France has orders not to change a word in the project as prepared by our Ministers at Paris: the Dutch Ambassador has the same orders from his masters: the Nuncio presses also the signing without any change; and all the German Ministers are of the same opinion.

The Baron refuses to sign without another order from Brussels: upon which the French Ambassador presses both me and Monsieur Beverning to give him an act, wherein we are to witness, that he has been ready to sign ever since the arrival of the project. The Dutch Ambassador pro-

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

A Aix, le 30 Avr. S.N.
Monsieur, 1668.

Je trouve ma santé fort ébranlée, & à Dieu ne plaise que les accidens, qu'est capable de me causer le dépit que je ressens du train que prennent les affaires, viennent se joindre à mon indisposition. Tout ce que j'ai à dire c'est, que l'Ambassadeur de France a ordre de ne changer pas un seul mot au projet de nos Ministres qui sont à Paris. Celui d'Hollande a les mêmes ordres; le Nonce du Pape presse la signature, & insiste sur la même point: enfin tous les Ministres d'Allemagne sont dans le même sentiment.

Le Baron de Bergeyck refuse à signer sans un nouvel ordre de Bruxelles: là-dessus l'Ambassadeur de France presse & moi & Monsieur Beverning de lui donner un acte, dans lequel nous temoignions, que, depuis l'arrivée du projet, il a été tous les jours prêt à signer. L'Ambassadeur d'Hollande proteste qu'il ne peut

Digitized by Google

tests he cannot refuse; and besides, that if the Baron will not sign to-morrow, he will depart, and return for Holland. The most Christian King has sent all his officers into the field, and intends to follow them in person: so that our Ministers at Paris apprehend some new accidents, unless they are prevented by signing the treaty. For myself, I have instructions to use all means for advancing the peace in concert with the Dutch Ambassador; and can by no means disagree with his resolutions. I bear with what patience I can the mortification to see that I must pass for a person whom your Excellency has imposed on, by giving me an order which your Minister was not to obey: but I cannot bear with patience to see that the affairs of all Christendom must be absolutely ruined by a caprice of the Baron de Bergeyck. For I will not, as others do, impute to your Excellency such a feint as that of drawing from us all assurances you demanded, upon your promise of immediately signing the treaty, and then of giving me a sort of order to the Baron, contradicted before by a counter order in secret.

pas le lui refuser; & que même, si le Baron de Bergeyck ne signe pas dans la journée de demain, il partira d'ici pour s'en retourner en Hollande. Le Roy très Chrêtien a fait partir tous ses Officiers pour aller ouvrir la campagne, & il pretend les suivre en personne; de sorte que nos Ministres à Paris apprehendent de nouveaux desordres, si on n'arrête tout ce grand mouvement par la signature du traité. Pour moi, les instructions que j'ai reçûes, portent que je n'épargne rien pour avancer la paix, & que je fâsse toutes choses de concert avec l'Ambassadeur d'Hollande, & je ne puis en aucune sorte me departir de ses resolutions. Je porte le plus patiemment que je puis, la mortification de passer pour un homme dont V. E. s'est jouée, lors qu'elle m'a fait expedier un ordre auquel on ne devoit pas obéir, & que votre Ministre a en effet éludé; mais je ne puis voir qu'avec la dernière inquietude que toutes les affaires de la Chrêtienté se brouillent & se perdent par le seul caprice du Baron de Bergeyck. Car je me garde bien de supposer, comme les autres, une feinte en V. E. & de lui attribuer de nous avoir tendu un piege, en tirant de nous les assurances demandées, sur la promesse de faire aussitôt signer le traité; & ensuite de m'avoir chargé d'un ordre pour le Baron de Bergeyck, qui par avance étoit détruit par une instruction secrette.

I should not have left Brussels, had not your Excellency assured me, that the Baron should sign without delay, whenever I judged it necessary.

Je n'aurois jamais parti de Bruxelles, si V. E. ne m'avoit assuré de bouche, que le Baron signeroit sans y manquer tout aussitôt que je jugerois la chose

Digitized by Google

I now find it so; and have told him it is so very necessary, that, I believe, France would not have carried greater advantages, nor triumphed more upon the winning of a battle, than on the advances they have made in this affair.

For myself, I was never in my life in greater mortification, than what I have borne in this affair. I am, &c.

absolument necessaire. Nous nous sommes vus, & je lui ai representé la chose si pressée, si necessaire, que je croi que la France n'a pas remporté plus d'avantage, ni ne se soit érigée à elle-même un plus grande triomphe par le gain d'une bataille que par les avances qu'elle a faites en cette occasion.

Pour moi, je n'ai eu de ma vie une plus grande mortification que celle que j'ai essuyée en cette rencontre. Je suis, &c.

To Mr. Williamson.

Sir, Aix, April 30, N. S. 1668.

My Master being kept in his bed by an illness that seized him the first night of his arrival here, and since increased upon him by the constraints he was forced to the next day in the reception of the several Ambassadors, hath commanded me to give you the account of his journey hither; and desires you will help it to pass with my Lord Arlington for that promise which he made in his last, of doing it himself to his Lordship upon the next occasion.

He parted from Brussels upon the 24th of this month with nine and twenty persons in his company, of which ten in his own livery. Besides those who belonged to him, my Lord Stafford, Captain Brumidge, and Captain Wesely, did him the favour to accompany him in his journey, and twenty of the Marquis's guard for his security, till he came the second night into the land of Liege. The first night at Louvain passed without any ceremony, not taking upon him any new character in the Spanish dominions: the second night he lodged at Hirkinraedt, a very rich Abbey of Bernardin nuns, where he was received as the King of England's Ambassador. The next morning the Magistrates of the

Digitized by Google

town of Hassel sent to inform whether he passed by their town of Hassel in his way to Maestricht, to the end they might do him the honour due to his character: but my Master desiring to avoid those ceremonies chose to pass a private way about a mile from the town; however, he found all the road where it lay over-against the town crowded with people, and among them the Magistrates of the town, who in the highway entertained him with a speech, a banquet, great store of wine, and all the great guns of the town at the same time.

The same night he arrived at Maestricht, having only sent an ordinary servant before to take up his lodgings: near the town he was met by a Gentleman from the Rhingrave, to tell him, that if the hour of his arrival had been known, he would himself have met him on the way; but however would not fail to do it at his coming to town. He was received there by all the great guns of the town, the garrison ranged through the streets as he passed, and at the end of them a volley of their small shot. At his inn he was immediately visited by the Rhingrave, and after him by the Magistrates of the town. The next morning he returned a visit to the Rhingrave, who would by force accompany him back to his inn. As he went out, he had all the great guns of the town thrice round, and greater vollies of shot than the night before, and the Rhingrave met him in his coach about half a mile out of town, to perform his last compliment, having told my Lord Stafford that he had express orders from the States, to do all the honour that was possible both to his character and his person.

From Maestricht he sent a letter to the Baron de Fraisheim here, to give him notice of his intended arrival upon Friday the 27th, but, withal, to desire him to keep it private, that so he might enter with little noise or ceremony, in regard he came upon a

Digitized by Google

sudden journey and a very short stay, and therefore with the train of the King's Resident at Brussels, rather than that of his Ambassador. The Baron de Fraisheim did his part in suppressing the knowledge of it, but the town having notice by orders they had given at Maestricht to that purpose, sent one to meet him in the midway with a compliment, and desire that they might receive him as they had done other Ambassadors. My Master referred it to them to do as they pleased, and the rather because he heard that the French Ambassador had made a solemn entry about six days before, with a very great train and ceremony; and he thought, by this more private entry, to avoid the expectation of any other: so he was received in the town with all the guns and the Burghers in arms, and complimented immediately at his arrival both from the Magistrates of the town, and a Commander of the Duke of Newburg's to assure him that the Duke had given him orders for two hundred horse to attend him upon the confines, and to accompany him into the town, as he had done the French Ambassador at his solemn entry, and that the Baron of Fraisheim's assurance of his desiring to enter privately had only prevented that attendance.

The night of his arrival, my Master went about ten o'clock incognito to the Dutch Ambassador's house, resolving to tell him, that, upon his arrival here, he intended to live after another sort with him than with any other of the Ambassadors, as well in respect of the near alliance between their Masters, as of their mediation. The Dutch Ambassador happened to be in bed, but, having heard of my Master's intentions, came and visited him early the next morning without train or ceremony, and gave him full information of all that had passed here, which made good what we met with every-where upon the road, that nothing in the peace could be

Digitized by Google

done till the arrival of the King's Ambassador here.

My Master's indisposition that morning delayed his sending to give the several public Ministers advice of his arrival till about ten o'clock, and then he was prevented by compliments; first from the French, and then from the Spanish Ambassadors, which were returned that morning, and succeeded in the afternoon by visits from them both in the same order.

My Master upon his first interview with the Holland Ambassador, enquired of him what intercourse had passed between him and the Pope's Nuncio; and finding that, after some offices by third persons between them, it had stopped upon some difficulties without coming to any visits or formal compliments; he spake to my Lord Stafford, when he made a visit of himself to the Nuncio, to let him know in common conversation, that my Master, finding, by what had passed between him and the Dutch Ambassador, that the same difficulties were like to befal him, had omitted to give him any advice of his arrival, but to tell him, at the same time, that he was very much a servant to the merits of the Cardinal Padrone, upon his acquaintance with him at Brussels, and was very glad to hear of the continuance of his health since his last recovery: and so that matter ended as I suppose; my Master having no instruction in that point, and therefore desiring, as civilly as he could, to take this occasion of avoiding farther commerce with him. I have nothing else worth giving you the trouble of, but am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Tho. Downton.

Digitized by Google

To the Elector of Mentz.

Aix, May 2, N. S.

Sir, 1668.

THOUGH my own indisposition, and Monsieur Schouborne's affairs, deprived me of the happiness of seeing him since my arrival in this city, I would not however delay any longer to acknowledge the honour of your Highness's letter of the 12th past, and to make you the offers of my services (since of the King my Master's affection your Highness wants no testimonies.) In the mean while I send your Highness the agreeable news of the peace, the treaties whereof I have at present in my hands; one signed in presence of the Dutch Ambassador, and the other in mine; which I was glad to obtain by precaution, so to surmount the difficulties raised upon delivering the instruments to the Nuncio. I give your Highness joy of an affair so important to the happiness of Germany; and your Highness may justly do the same to the King my Master, who, though at distance, and out of danger of this flame, has however contributed more to the extinguishing of it, than all those who were most interested in the neighbourhood. And, since this peace, as well as that of Portugal, has so justly given his Majesty a rank so high among the *Pacifici*; your Highness will join your prayers to mine, that God Almighty will please to add also to his character the *Beati*. And, as your Highness has all reason to be-

A l'Electeur de Mayence.

Aix, le 2 May, S. N.

Monsieur, 1668.

Quoique mon indisposition, & les affaires de Monsieur Schouborne m'ayent empêché de le voir depuis mon arrivée en cette ville; je n'ai pourtant pas voulu differer plus longtems sans me servir de cette voye pour reconnoître l'honneur que V. A. m'a fait par sa lettre du 12 du passé, & sans lui envoyer dans une des miennes les offres de mes services; je dis de mes services, car pour l'affection du Roi mon Maître elle est assez connuë à V. A. & n'a pas besoin de mon temoignage. En même tems je donnerai à V. A. une nouvelle bien agréable, puisque je lui apprendrai que le paix est conclue, & qu'à l'heure que je lui écris, les traités en sont entre mes mains; l'un signé en presence de l'Ambassadeur d'Hollande, & l'autre en la mienne, ce que j'ai été bien-aise d'obtenir par precaution, & afin de surmonter les difficultés survenuës lors qu'on a livré les instrumens à Monsieur le Nonce. Je donne à V. A. toute la joye d'une affaire qui importoit au bonheur de l'Allemagne, comme elle la donnera avec justice au Roi mon Maître; car, quoiqu' éloigné & à couvert des flammes qui devoroient tant de païs, on dira pourtant avec justice qu'il a seul plus contribué a éteindre cet embrasement, que tous ceux qui en étoient & les plus voisins & les plus alarmés. Et puisque cette paix, aussi bien que celle de Portugal, a si legitimement placé sa Majesté

Digitized by Google

lieve the King my Master your friend, so I beg your Highness to esteem me always, Sir, your Highness's most, &c.

dans le plus haut rang entre les Pacifici; V. A. joindra ses prières aux miennes, afin que le bon Dieu y ajoute aussi les Beati. Et comme elle a tout lieu de croire le Roi mon Maitre de ses amis, je la prie aussi de m'estimer toûjours, Monsieur, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Aix, May 8, N. S. 1668.

SINCE my last I have received your Lordship's of the 17th and 20th, which both complain of the ill state wherein the Swedish treaty then stood, and command my applications to the Marquis for a remedy.

I have infused it all I could possibly into the Baron de Bergeyck at his return from hence to Brussels, which was in haste, and immediately after the signing and dispatching away the instruments of the treaty. Some here attribute his haste to an intention of avoiding any speech of a general guaranty for the peace, which, with so many difficulties and delays before the signing, as well as so many declamations against the violence and injustice in pressing him to it, are evidence enough of the force by which the Spaniards have been compelled to it; though I doubt of their being this age in a condition of making better use of it. For my part, I was of opinion, that since Don John was neither arrived with supplies, nor hardly expected in any time; since Holland was so desperately bent upon the peace, without any respect to the Spanish honour or interest, farther than joined immediately with their own; since Spain had not been able to find means to engage his Majesty or Sweden in their quarrel by supplies necessary to both Crowns; and since his Majesty was not in a condition of entering

Digitized by Google

into the business single, upon considerations of honour, justice, or a remote danger: and consequently, since upon the projects made both at a time in Paris, it grew evident to Spain, *Qu'il falloit passer par là ou par les fenestres:* upon all these considerations, I say, I was of opinion that the Spaniards business was to end frankly and immediately upon my arrival here, thereby to have more time for bringing the ratifications of the treaty signed here from Spain within this month, and so avoid all pretexts (which I expected) of France's breaking the business, and which I knew they would be strongly tempted to by the Spaniards want or neglect of preparations, and by our disconcert for their defence. Upon these considerations, I confess, I have pressed as hard upon the Baron de Bergeyck, as the Dutch Ambassador himself, to finish the affair, ever since my arrival, and was at an end of my patience to see him stop it upon such slight and unreasonable pretences as his two last; which were, first, not to insert his powers, because both his and those of France were sharp upon the rise of the war; but Monsieur Colbert's were sent in that style since his arrival here, and only in return of the Marquis's, since those he brought with him were soft and without any reflections: the Baron had been advised by Monsieur Beverning at his first coming to have them changed, had three weeks to do it, and yet made no difficulty upon it till after the treaty was signed, and the powers came to be inserted, which he refused to suffer, saying, he expected new and softer powers within two or three days, and in the mean time would have had the instruments dispatched away without any transcription of the powers, though in the treaty mentioned as inserted: and I believe France would not have wished a better occasion to delay the business beyond a possibility of being ratified within the time. This difficulty took up a

Digitized by Google

whole day after the signing; and when the Baron was beaten out of it by main force, he threw us upon a worse: for whereas his first powers, and all he had ever given copies of, or mentioned to any Minister here, had only run, as deputed from the Marquis with the same power to treat and conclude as if his Majesty had been here in person; when he inserted his powers, after having made Monsieur Colbert's express to stay a whole day, he brings the instrument with a power agreeing in all words with the first, but only those of Ambassador and Plenipotentiary joined to his Deputation, which put Monsieur Colbert into such a rage, that he was ready to tear all in pieces; and, for five hours, Monsieur Beverning and I could draw no other answer from the Baron, but that it was impossible for him to do any otherwise, protesting he had no other power here, the first having been returned to the Marquis upon the transmission of this, the advice of which he said he had received from Monsieur Beverning. With Monsieur Colbert we had no hopes of prevailing to have his new style allowed, nor had we indeed any reason to press it, being offered upon a surprise, and there being no colour for the Marquis being qualified to send an Ambassador upon this occasion: I was five hours upon the rack with the opinion the business would absolutely break by the delays this would occasion; and indeed out of all patience with the Baron, not believing it possible he could be without his first powers by him; and Monsieur Beverning and he were at those heights, that they were several times upon the point of drawing their swords in my room, and I believe had done it in any other place. But, after all, the Baron confessed he had his first powers, and order to insert them if he could not make the other pass, but instructions to endeavour that to the utmost; which, to give him his due, he acted to a height

Digitized by Google

that I could never have done without straining my own truth as well as my business. And so upon the 4th at night all ended. My dissatisfaction with the Baron de Bergeyck's conduct since I came hither was, I confess, very great, and my expressions upon it very free in my several expresses to the Marquis, who, it seems, takes part in it, and owns it so far, as to seem most extremely ill satisfied with the Ministers using so much earnestness here in beating him out of all those designs. I have had three several letters from his Excellency, since my being here, upon that subject, but all so ill-humoured and so *emportées*, that I think they had been better spared, and, though what was particular to me, civil enough, yet some expressions concerning the general proceeding, wherein I had the chiefest part, so *piquantes*, that I think I have reason to resent, and am sure have not deserved it from any public Minister either there or here; and having answered them accordingly, I know not upon what terms we are like to be upon my return; and therefore could not forbear giving your Lordship the trouble of this relation, to justify myself not only to your Lordship, for there I am sure it will not need; but, if you think fit, to the Count Molina, and the Baron d'Isola too, who may perhaps have received letters from the Marquis upon our proceedings here of the same style that I have done.

I have been the more earnest in bringing this matter to an issue here (which the Holland Ambassador says had never been done without me) because I conceived by all I have had from your Lordship, as well as from other hands, not only that you desired it in England, but that the peace was necessary for the constitution of his Majesty's present affairs: and, since he has had the glory of making two peaces so important, we have now nothing to wish but to see him in a condition to make war as well

Digitized by Google

as peace, whenever the honour and interests of his Crowns shall make it necessary; for that necessity can, I suppose, be no ways long avoided, but by our being in a posture to welcome it whenever it comes, and to make advantage of it. And I think the best time to fall into counsels tending to this great end will be after the conclusion of this general peace, when no engagement abroad forces his Majesty to have so much need of money from his people. For the time to repair the harms that storms have done a house, is in fair weather; and, to mend a leaky ship, she must be brought ashore.

God of heaven send your Lordship to be a happy instrument in the proposal and application of such counsels, and that we may take warning by the poor Spaniards example, whose ill conduct of late in the government has so far subjected them to their neighbours disesteem, and insolence, and humour, as well as to their conquests, violence, and oppression; which I confess have been enough to put them upon such desperate counsels, as your Lordship mentions, of giving up all to the French in these countries, rather than be the bare guardians of others frontiers. And yet all these misfortunes are the natural consequences of their conduct, and will never fail befalling any Prince that follows their example. I wish that might befal the French to temper a little such an over-grown greatness; but I doubt it much, from the present King's dispositions, among whose qualities those of carelesness or lavishing his treasures, I am afraid, are none: therefore I wish him engaged in some very charming pleasures, or else in some more difficult enterprises than his last, and where we may not have so great a share: that which they talk on here may possibly prove so, which is drawing or forcing the Empire to chuse the Dauphin King of the Romans; for though his party be grown strangely powerful in Germany, and

Digitized by Google

if Brandenburgh be fallen into it as is believed, none will be left to the house of Austria that I know of, unless Saxony and Triers; yet such a body, so differently composed as the Empire, should me-thinks very hardly move all one way in any new course.

Monsieur Colbert talks of his master's sending immediately ten or fifteen thousand men for the relief of Candy, which were a glorious and Christian counsel, and, in all ways that can be, to be cherished and applauded: and if any offices could be done towards engaging the French Court in that design by us or the Dutch, I think they are not ill bestowed; about which I have entertained Monsieur Beverning, who is of my mind, and have insinuated the same notions among the German Ministers here, who swallow it greedily; and I hope it may take effect, and help to free all these parts of the jealousy which so great an army must needs give, as this peace is like to leave idle upon the French hands.

I intend to begin my journey to Brussels to-morrow, Monsieur Beverning being gone to-day; but I doubt I shall be five or six days upon the way, any thing now that presses me to more than ordinary haste.

I received 600*l.* owing me upon my employment there before my coming away, and was very sorry to find by a letter of my wife's, that the fear she had of my being disappointed in that particular made her draw up a memorial, which it seems the council was troubled with, about my private concernments. I may very truly and justly disown it, as I do, and hope she will be pardoned for too forward a care and concernment in that business: for, as to the charge of my journey here, when your Lordship thinks fit to command it, I shall send you the exact account, which my secretary keeps, of all I spend, and leave it in your Lordship's hands, for

Digitized by Google

his Majesty to do as he pleases in it; which is all the trouble I shall give you or myself about it. I am ever, with equal passion and truth, &c.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Aix, May 8, N. S.
My Lord, 1668.

I RECEIVED yours of the 4th instant; and am glad your Excellency is so extremely satisfied with the moderation (as you are pleased to style it) of the Baron de Bergeyck, while at the same time you are so much provoked at the complaints I made of his conduct here. I shall always openly confess, that seeing Don Juan's arrival with the intended supplies delayed, and perhaps wholly frustrated; seeing Holland so desperately fond of the peace, without considering the interests of Spain; seeing the Emperor appear wholly disinterested in the matter; seeing Spain had used no endeavours to engage the King my Master, or Sweden, otherwise than by fair words; and that his Majesty was not in a condition to enter into the affair alone, upon pure considerations of generosity or of a danger at distance: seeing also, that Spain approved even the first project of peace drawn by Monsieur de Lionne: I thought, upon all these considerations, that it was their interest sincerely to finish the affair, and gain the most time possible, to get the ratifications from Madrid; and by that means take away from France all hopes or pretext of breaking, with-

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

Aix, 8 May, S. N.
Monsieur, 1668.

J'ai reçû la vôtre du 4. de ce mois; & je suis bien aise que V. E. s'est si fort satisfaite de ce qu'elle appelle la moderation du Baron de Bergeyck, pendant qu'elle temoigne être si picquée de l'aigreur que j'ai fait paroître en me plaignant ici de son procédé. J'avouerai tout publiquement, que voyant retarder avec l'arrivée de Don Juan, les secours destinés & promis, & voyant qu'on en seroit peut-être frustré; voyant l'Hollande si éperduement amoureuse de la paix sans égard aux interêts d'Espagne; voyant l'Empereur jouër dans cette affaire le rôle d'un Prince parfaitement desinteressé; voyant que l'Espagne n'avoit encore agi auprès du Roi mon Maître, & auprès de la Suede, que par de belles paroles; connoissant que sa Majesté n'étoit pas en état d'entrer seule dans cette épineuse negociation; & que pour la porter à le faire, il falloit autres choses que de purs motifs de générosité; enfin, voyant l'Espagne elle-même approuver le projet de Monsieur de Lionne, tel qu'il l'avoit dressé: faisant attention à toutes ces choses, j'ai crû que leur interêt demandoit qu'ils achevâssant franchement l'affaire; gagnant le plus de tems qu'il seroit possible pour faire venir les

Digitized by Google

out such an evidence of falsehood and ambition, as would make Holland of necessity engage in your defence. And upon the same considerations I urged the Baron de Bergeyck, all I could, to finish the affair: as soon as I saw that neither the Ambassador of France nor Holland, any more than the Nuncio, would hearken to propositions of changing any thing in the project. And, besides, I thought all the difficulties the Baron made upon the signing very unseasonable, and of ill consequence to the affair; and I shewed him how much he was in the wrong to complain of the sharp powers of Monsieur Colbert, which were drawn up only in revenge to yours, his former ones having been without any reflection upon what was past: and the Baron de Bergeyck having had three weeks time to send for softer powers, and more proper for treating of a peace. I was also ill satisfied to see him keep us three or four days on the rack till the affair was just breaking, only to insert a new power with the word Ambassador, which the Nuncio never heard the Baron once mention before; there being nothing of it in those powers whereof he had given a copy. And, as insignificant as these accidents seem to be, I think they were such, that if Monsieur Colbert, either by his own disposition, or the interests of his brother, had not been very much inclined to the peace, I am persuaded that this great moderation of the Baron de Bergeyck had wholly ruined the affair. I am your, &c.

ratifications de Madrid; & étant par-là à la France tout pretexte, & toute esperance d'en venir à une rupture; à moins qu'elle voulût elle-même étaler sa honte & faire voir si à decouvert sa perfidie & son ambition, que necessairement l'Hollande se trouveroit engagée dans vôtre defense. Ces mêmes considerations ont fait que j'ai poussé, autant qu'il m'a été possible, à terminer promptement l'affaire, dès que j'avois clairement apperçu que ni l'Ambassadeur de France, ni celui d'Hollande, non plus que le Nonce, ne vouloient point écouter la proposition de changer quelque chose aux termes du projet. Et même j'ai regardé toutes les difficultés du Baron de Bergeyck sur la signature comme faites hors de propos, & d'une facheuse influence pour la conclusion de l'affaire. Je lui ai donné le tort qu'il s'est plaint de la forme en laquelle étoient conçus les pouvoirs de Monsieur Colbert; il y a crû y entrevoir de l'aigreur, sans faire reflexion qu'ils étoient dressés à l'imitation, & peut-être à l'envi des vôtres; les premiers pouvoirs de M. Colbert ayant été conçûs sans aucune relation au passé; & le Baron de Bergeyck ayant eu trois semaines pour faire venir des pouvoirs plus doux & plus sortables à la paix. J'ai été aussi fort indigné de ce qu'ils nous a retenus trois ou quatre jours à la gêne; & cela parce qu'il vouloit inserer un nouveau pouvoir avec le mot d'Ambassadeur. Le Nonce n'en avoit jamais oui parler auparavant au Baron; car la moindre mention n'en avoit pas été faite dans les pouvoirs dont il avoit

Digitized by Google

donné copie. Quelque legers que puissent paroître de tels incidens je crois pouvoir dire, que si Monsieur Colbert par la situation des affaires & des interêts de son frère, ne s'étoit pas trouvé tout-à-fait porté à la paix, je suis persuadé que cette belle & loüable moderation qu'on vante en Monsieur Bergeyck auroit suffi pour gâter tout. Je suis, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, ~~March~~ May 22, N. S. 1668.

YOUR Lordship's of the first current referred me to another I was to expect by the following post, with particular directions how to pursue the Swedish affair here; but that being not yet arrived, I have hitherto been only able to make some general diligences therein, together with the Holland Deputy, in a joint audience this morning. The Marquis's guard consisted chiefly in these points: That what he had promised of sending powers to the Count Molina was in time of war, and with intention of engaging Sweden with us in the affair. That the peace has altered that measure; and though he had full powers to grant what he thought fit in the time of war, whose accidents admitted not recourse to Spain, yet he had not the same in time of peace, but had written effectually upon this subject. That, in the mean time, he expected to know the effect of this league, and see the form of guaranty it should produce, with what concert, and what advantages for the affairs of these countries, of which he had yet received no particular account from the Count de Molina. That he did not understand why Spain should satisfy the expence of those months which the Swedes had kept up their troops only at the desire of Holland, and without any reflections upon

Digitized by Google

the business of these countries, which was from the time of the conclusion at Breda to that of our league at the Hague, wherein Count Dona entered, and which seemed the first instance of the Swedes concerning themselves in this country or Spain's affairs.

The Holland Deputy pressed his Excellency hard upon his promise, and his declaring to us, that he had sent powers to the Count Molina, pursuing him with *Res non est integra*, and *Mandatum non potest revocari*, and such civil law arguments, till it grew warm, and so not very proper for a man in ill health, nor, in my opinion, for the business as it stands; so that I was fain to divert it upon my expectation of new powers and particular instructions, by which I hoped to be able to give the Marquis satisfaction in the project of the intended guaranty.

This morning arrived Sir John Trevor's secretary, with directions to bring the business of the ratifications to a period, by carrying one from hence for surety's sake, in case that from Spain should fail, which is expected upon the very treaty signed at Aix, and withal to concert other circumstances in the manner of the exchange, which is made very imperfect in the treaty; that is, one to be delivered at St. Germains, and the other at Brussels. I carried the secretary this afternoon to the Marquis, and we have fallen upon this agreement, that to-morrow he shall return for Paris with a ratification upon the treaty at Aix, and with insertion of the same powers; a blank now in the Marquis's hands being to be filled up in that form, and to be dated the 16th current, which will answer a possibility of a post going to Madrid after the 2d, when the treaty was signed at Aix, receiving this ratification there, and returning to Paris by the 24th, the day this gentleman expects to arrive there.

For the exchange it shall be made at Paris, and by the hands of our Ministers there, who shall de-

Digitized by Google

liver the Spanish ratifications, and at the same time receive the French, with which the Marquis is content, and will proceed to the publishing of the peace so soon as our Ministers are possessed of the French ratifications, which may afterwards be sent hither at leisure. The day we propose for the exchanging the ratifications is the 26th, and the 28th for publishing the peace, in case we receive a courier by that time with advice of the French concurrence in that day.

For the manner of executing the treaty, I confess I was of opinion, nothing should be mentioned of it till the exchange and publication were passed, since new difficulties may arise upon it, which will be easiest overcome when the thing is done, and perhaps the parties will have begun to disarm. The Marquis was of my opinion in it, and therefore has proposed only in that point, that after the publication Commissioners may be appointed on both sides to meet upon it, and the Mediators desired by both parties to intervene likewise by their Commissioners, for the better composing of any difference that may arise between the parties, and to whom the adjudication of such difference may be referred; the place of meeting to be Oudenarde or Courtray, as most commodious for adjudication of the limits which may fall in dispute. After this matter thus digested, and promise of the ratifications to be in my hands to-morrow by noon, I came away with Sir John Trevor's secretary; but the Marquis sent after me, to desire he might speak with me alone; and told me, He was to thank me for sparing him this morning in disputes he was falling into with the Holland Deputy: That, in short, the Dutch had crossed him in an alliance he was making last year with Sweden, because they would make themselves masters of the affair; and now would buy the Swedes dependance at the cost of Spain: That he had all

Digitized by Google

the reason in the world to be satisfied with his Majesty's conduct of this affair, but little in the Dutch: That he knew no reason why they should not pay what they had promised to Sweden after the treaty at Breda, nor why all the money Spain could spare should not be given his Majesty upon a nearer league between us, who was the only Prince had proceeded affectionately and generously in the Spanish affairs, and who was the best able to support them, in case he were in condition to make war without his people's purses: That he expected the Baron Isola suddenly here for conclusion of the guaranty, and this affair with Sweden: and that at last, if it must be paid by Spain, it should be all laid in his Majesty's hands, to dispose of as he pleased. I gave his Excellency thanks for expressions so obliging in what concerned our part in this whole affair; but desired him to take it for a ground in all the superstructures to be made upon the present foundations; that Spain must not disoblige Holland even to oblige us, but dissemble any resentments they had given him, and sacrifice them to the advantage both we and Spain received by their present separation from France. And so our discourses ended, and we are returned into the same good correspondence we were in before I went to Aix, which had been interrupted by some letters I received from his Excellency there, and some I returned in the style I thought they deserved; it being perhaps natural to the same men to be the least subject to do injuries, and the least capable of receiving them: for it is easy enough to find morals for the first, but Christianity enough for the last, I doubt, is difficult. I am ever, &c.

Digitized by Google

To Monsieur de Witt.

Brussels, May 27, N. S.
Sir, 1668.

By my last from Aix, I gave you account of the signing of the peace, and was in hopes by this to have given you also an account of the ratification, which is not yet arrived from Paris. Mean while the ravages made by the French troops over all the country, and their approaches to this city alarm us here, as if they had a design to wrangle upon some formalities, and in the mean time put themselves in a condition to carry the greatest advantages upon expiration of the truce. I will not have the least suspicion of such a proceeding; the most Christian King having already given notice of the peace to the Pope and other Christian Princes: and (which is of greater weight) knowing that Sweden has already entered into the triple alliance. Therefore, the business that gives me most pain, is to draw from Spain the satisfaction stipulated to Sweden, upon which your Deputies here have without doubt already given you the Marquis's answers, though indeed somewhat cold and uncertain. I have since given him a very pressing letter from the King my Master upon the same subject, but have had yet no answer, farther than that he has not yet seen our triple alliance, nor knows the advantages given to Spain by it; or whether they are equal to Spain and France. He makes

A Monsieur de Witt.

Bruxelles, le 27 May, N. S.
Monsieur, 1668.

Par ma derniere lettre d'Aix la Chapelle, je vous ai appris la signature de la paix, & j'esperois par celle-ci vous apprendre la ratification; mais elle n'est pas encore arrivée de Paris. Cependant les ravages faits par les troupes Françoises dans toute la Flandre, & leurs approches de cette ville, causent encore de l'alarme ici, comme s'ils avoient dessein de chicaner sur quelques formalités, & en attendant, se mettre en état de remporter les plus grands avantages au moment dès l'expiration de la trève. Je ne veux point former le moindre soupçon d'un tel procédé dans les François; le Roi très Chrêtien ayant deja donné avis de la paix, tant au Pape qu'aux autres Princes; & (ce qui est de plus grand poids) sachant que la Suede a deja entré dans le triple alliance. C'est pourquoi, la chose dont je me mets le plus en peine, est de tirer de l'Espagne la satisfaction stipulée pour la Suede. Vos Deputés ici vous ont sans doute deja communiqué sur cet article les réponses du Marquis, à la vérité un peu froides & incertaines. Je lui ai remis depuis une lettre de la part du Roi mon Maître sur ce sujet, fort pressante, mais je n'en ai jusqu' ici pû tirer d'autre réponse, si non qu'il n'a pas encore vû le traité de nôtre triple alliance, & qu'il ignore quels avantages y sont contenus pour l'Espagne; & s'ils sont balancés également entre la France & l'

Digitized by Google

difficulties also upon the subsidies of these months past between the treaty at Breda and ours at the Hague, which was (as he says) the first day that Sweden began to consider the affairs of Spain; and he adds, that he has writ into Spain upon this matter, and waits an answer; his powers being more ample in time of war than of peace.

By the thread of his discourse I imagine that he is sufficiently convinced of the necessity of the affair, and that he will agree to it; but knowing that he has time till the ratification comes from Sweden, he makes use of it, either first to see the supplies of money expected with Don John, or, perhaps, because there are some natures in the world who never can proceed sincerely in business, but are always for gaining time, which they will do if they were going to their wedding, as much as if they were going to their execution.

Mean while the King my Master has thought good to order another letter to be writ to the Queen of Spain herself upon this subject, and to come to an end of this affair, notwithstanding the difficulties that may arise here: and I think it will not be amiss if the States observe the same order, writing a letter to the Marquis and at the same time another to the Queen, to press the affair, and both in civil terms, without sharpening the matter or seem-

Espagne. Il forme aussi des difficultés sur les subsides des mois écoulés entre la conclusion du traité à Breda, & la date du nôtre à la Haye, qui étoit, dit-il, le premier jour que la Suede a commencé d'examiner les affaires d'Espagne, & d'y faire attention. Enfin il ajoute qu'il a écrit en Espagne sur cette matiere, & qu'il en attend la réponse, ses pouvoirs étant plus amples en tems de guerre qu'en tems de paix.

Par la suite de son discours j'ay crû appercevoir qu'il est assez persuadé de la necessité de l'affaire, & qu'il y veut venir; mais comme il sait qu'il a du tems jusqu' à la ratification venue de Suede, il tâche de s'en servir, dans l'esperance que les secours d'argent arriveront avec Don Juan. Mais peut-être que ce temporisement a un autre principe, & qu'il y a des esprits dans le monde faits de telle sorte, qu'ils ne sauroient jamais aller rondement en besogne, & qui songent toûjours à gagner du tems, lors même qu'il s'agit d'aller aux nôces, comme lors qu'il est question d'aller à la mort.

En attendant, le Roi mon Maître a trouvé bon de faire écrire une autre lettre à la Reine d'Espagne elle-même sur ce sujet, pour venir à bout de cette affaire, malgré les difficultés qui se pourront rencontrer ici. Il me semble qu'il ne seroit mal à propos que Messieurs les Etats suivîssent la même voye, & qu'ils fissent écrire au Marquis & en même tems à la Reine, afin de presser l'affaire. Ces deux lettres étant conçuës en termes obligéans, & au lieu d'aigrir la difference, &

Digitized by Google

ing to make difficulties upon the ratifications of the guaranty, at least not to make them appear greater than they are. I have told my opinion in this affair, and I have dealt with the Spaniards long enough to know a little of their genius; nor do I doubt coming to an end of this matter, as well as I have done of others more difficult, provided we go the same way, as having to do with the same people.

de grossir les difficultés, paroissant avoir pour but de pacifier toutes choses, & de tendre à une prompte conclusion touchant les ratifications de la guarantie, pourroient produire un très bon effet. Voilà mon opinion sur cette affaire : J'ai eu un assez long commerce avec les Espagnols pour connoître un peu leur genie; & je ne doute point que je ne vienne à bout de ce que j'ai entrepris, ainsi que je suis déja venu à bout de choses plus difficiles, pourvû que nous marchions tous d'un même train, ayant affaire à mêmes gens.

I doubt not but you will be of my opinion, that it will be necessary, after the peace is made, to endeavour at coming to some exchange of places, as well to remove the French from your frontiers, as to leave the Spaniards in a better condition of defending themselves against any new surprise or attack; and this will deserve your thoughts upon it; I mean the manner by which you must begin and carry on this affair. And, I think, the best occasion of entering into the business will be upon the execution of the peace; and to represent that the restitution of Burgundy in the condition it is in at present, is an offer not agreeable to the promises of the most Christian King.

Je ne doute pas que vous ne soyez comme moi du sentiment, qu'après la paix faite, il sera necessaire de faire nos efforts pour amener les choses à un échange des places, tant pour éloigner les François de vos frontieres, que pour laisser les Espagnols en état de se mieux defendre contre de nouvelles surprises & de nouvelles invasions. Ceci merite vos reflexions; vous penserez aussi à la maniere dont il faudra s'y prendre pour entamer & poursuivre cette affaire. Il me semble que l'occasion la plus propre d'entrer en matiere sur cela, sera sur l'execution de la paix; & de representer que la restitution de Bourgogne dans l'état où il est à present, est une offre peu convenable aux promesses du Roy très Chrêtien.

I have desired Monsieur Beverning to discourse you about a small particular in our last instrument of the marine, which does not seem to me of any importance, but by which some of your good friends have under-

J'ai prié Monsieur Beverning de vous entretenir sur une petite particularité touchant nôtre dernier memoire sur la marine; la chose ne me paroît pas importante, mais parce que quelques-uns de vos bons amis ont pris

Digitized by Google

took to reflect particularly upon me: but, having had no news of Monsieur Beverning since his departure, I should be glad to know that he spoke to you of it, and what you think. I am, &c.

à tâche de me blamer moi seul en particulier: comme je n'ai point eu de nouvelles de Monsieur Beverning depuis son départ, je serai bien aise de savoir s'il vous en a parlé, & ce qui vous en semble. Je suis, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

London, July 3, 1668.

Sir,

HAVING taken so much part in your good fortunes, and the applauses given you by the world, it is but reasonable I should also take part in your losses, and tell you with equal displeasure and truth, how much I am concerned at your late misfortune. I have long observed, that your fatigues for the public were eased by your domestic entertainments; and, instead of those diversions which others seek in vice and extravagance, you always placed yours in the innocent pleasures of conjugal and paternal affection. I have observed also, how happily you discharged yourself in all affairs of your family upon a lady who now lives no more but in the memory and esteem of all those that knew her; and therefore I am but too sensible how nearly this loss must afflict you; and that it is neither just nor decent to give you consolation upon it so soon. Therefore I will only say, that, if it were not for this sad occasion, you would have wanted one great enough to shew the strength of your mind, which is often apter to sink under domestic acci-

A Monsieur de Witt.

De Londres, le 3 Juill. 1668.

Monsieur,

Ayant pris tant de part dans vos prosperités, & dans les applaudissemens que vous recevez de tout le monde; il est bien juste que j'en prenne dans vos disgraces & dans vos pertes; & que je vous dise avec autant de douleur que de verité, que j'ai été vivement touché de la derniere perte que vous venez de faire. Il y a long-tems que j'ai remarqué que vôtre domestique vous a toûjours servi d'unique relachement dans les fatigues que vous causent les affaires publiques, & qu'au lieu de recourir à ces divertissemens qui approchent si souvent de l'extravagance & du crime, vous faisiez toûjours consister les vôtres à cultiver les fruits de l'amitié conjugale, & de la tendresse paternelle. J'avois remarqué aussi, avec quelle joye & quelle confiance vous vous étiez déchargé de tous les soins de ménage sur cette vertueuse épouse, qui ne vit plus à present que dans l'estime & le souvenir de toutes les personnes qui l'ont connuë; & par-là je ne sens que trop combien sa perte vous doit sensiblement toucher. Ni la bienséance, ni la raison ne souffrent point que j'entreprenne de vous

Digitized by Google

dents, than those of Court or of a war: for by these a man is only hardened every day, but he is softened and made more tender by the others. I beg you therefore not to neglect this occasion of your glory; not to forget, in the midst of your grief, that you have this long time espoused the good of your country, and of Christendom itself, in these last conjunctures, to which you owe all your applications and caresses. I hope these will be at present some comfort to you, or at least a diversion, as they have formerly been a fatigue and a pain.

Having begun this letter only to condole with you upon this sad occasion, I will not intermix any thing of business; only to tell you that the King my Master presses me every day to prepare for my voyage, which I shall delay no longer than my domestic affairs have made it necessary after so long an absence. In the mean while I assure you, I find nothing here

consoler si subitement. C'est pourquoi je vous dirai seulement, que sans une si triste occasion, vous n'auriez pas eu celle d'étaler toute la force de vôtre ame, qui succombe quelque fois plus promptement & plus absolument sous les afflictions domestiques que sous le revers de la Republique, ou les disgraces de la guerre: on se familiarise avec ces dernieres, & on s'y endurcit avec le tems; mais les premieres conservent toujours le droit de nous attendrir & de nous toucher infiniment. Je vous prierai donc de ne pas negliger cette occasion de votre gloire, & au plus fort de votre douleur, de ne point oublier avec quel devoüement, & depuis quel tems vous avez épousé le bien de vôtre patrie, & avec le sien celui de la Chrétienté, dans ces dernieres conjonctures; votre attachement, vos soins, votre tendresse mêmes lui sont dûs, puisque vous devez vous même tout entier à elle. J'espere qu'à l'avenir vos vieilles & vos fatigues pour la Republique vous procureront quelque soulagement, ou du moins apporteront quelque diversion à vos ennuis, au lieu des travaux & des sueurs qu'elles vous ont couté autrefois.

Ayant commencé cette lettre uniquement dans la vûe de me consoler avec vous, je ne veux point la finir en y mêlant quelque chose qui soit étrangere à votre douleur. Je ne vous parlerai donc point d'affaires, & je vous dirai seulement que le Roi mon Maître presse tous les jours sur les preparatifs de mon départ; je n'y apporterai d'autres retardemens que ceux que mes affaires

Digitized by Google

that can any way change or slacken the pursuit of our true and common interests, which consist in the firmness of our last alliance. But of this I shall tell you more when I see you. I am, Sir, your, &c.

domestiques rendent indispensables après une si longue absence. En attendant, je puis vous assurer que je n'ai rien apperçû ici qui puisse tant soit peu altérer ou ralentir les soins de nos véritables & communs interêts, que je fais consister dans la fermeté & la durée de notre dernière alliance : vous verrez cela plus au long à mon arrivée. Je suis, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

Sir, Sheen, July 22, 1668.

THOUGH I doubt our late motions may have lost or delayed some of your letters, which we have now been some time in want of; yet, I presume ours have had their constant course to you, though from several parts: and though mine have not been frequent, upon the permission you give me to spare my own eyes and time when they are otherwise taken up, and trust to my sister's entertaining you; yet, upon my return home, after three years absence, I could not but give you some account of my coming and stay here; and of what I can foresee is like to follow it, both as to my own particular, and to the public affairs, in which that seems at present to be so much involved.

After the conclusion of the triple alliance and the peace of Aix, I was at an end of my ambition; having seen Flanders saved, as if it had been by one of the miracles the house of Austria has, they say, been used to, and the general interests of Christendom secured against the power and attempts of France; and, at the same time, the consideration and honour of his Majesty and his Crown abroad raised to a degree it has not been in for some ages past, and we had no reason to expect it should be in some ages to come, upon the decline it

Digitized by Google

felt after the business at Chattam, and the peace of Breda that succeeded it. I returned from Aix to Brussels without other thoughts than of continuing in that station, till I grew wearier of it than I was like to do very suddenly of a place, I confess, I love: but, immediately upon my arrival there, I met with letters from my Lord Arlington, which brought me the King's orders to continue the equipage of an Ambassador, that I was in upon my Aix journey, in order to my serving his Majesty in the same character at the Hague, whither he was resolved to send me, and to renew, upon occasion of our late alliances, a character which the Crown of England had discontinued in that country since King James's time. In order hereunto I was left at liberty to take my leave of the Marquis, and to return into England as soon as I pleased, which I did by the way of Holland, and left most of my servants and horses at Utrecht.

Upon my arrival here, I was received both by the King and Court a great deal better than I could deserve or pretend; but people seem generally pleased with the counsels and negotiations in which I have had so much part since Christmas last; and I understand not Courts so ill (how little soever I have been used to them) as not to know that one ought not to lose the advantage of coming home with the common opinion of some merits or good hits at one's back, if one's business be *de pousser sa fortune*; and I am put enough in mind of it upon this occasion, by several of those many new friends one would think I had at this time of day, as well as by some of my old ones: but I cannot imagine why I should pretend to have deserved more than my pay of the King, for which I served him in my late employments; and, if I got honour by them, it was so much more than I had to reckon upon. Besides, I should be sorry to ask money of him at

Digitized by Google

a time when, for aught I can judge by the cry of the Court, he wants it more than I do. The Spanish Ambassador and Baron d'Isola, as well as others of my friends, would needs be asking a title for me, and it is with difficulty enough that I have prevented it; but it is that, I am sure, I never can have a mind to, and, if it should ever be offered me, I resolve it shall either begin with you, if you desire it; or, if not, with my son, which I had much rather. But, I suppose, nothing of this can happen in our Court without pursuit, and so I reckon myself in all these points just where I was about six months ago, but only designed for another ambassy, and no man knows how that will end. I am very much pressed to dispatch my preparations for it, by my Lord Keeper and Lord Arlington, who are extreme kind to me, as well as to the measures lately taken by their ministry, and seem to value themselves a great deal upon them. They say, all the business the King now has, both at home and abroad, will turn upon my hand in Holland, by keeping the French from breaking in upon our late alliances, and the confidence between us; and by drawing the Emperor and Princes of the Empire into a common guaranty of the peace, and thereupon they are mighty earnest with me to hasten away. On the other side, the Commissioners of the Treasury seem to have more mind to my company here, than I could expect: for, after some of them had tried to hinder the King's resolution of sending either an Ambassador at all into Holland (upon pretence of so long disuse of that character) or me in particular, when that could not be carried, they prepared my way by entering upon new regulations in the Exchequer, among which, those concerning foreign employments brought down the equipage money of Ambassadors from three thousand pounds, as it has been since the King came

Digitized by Google

in, to 1500 pounds in France and Spain, and to 1000 pounds in all other courts; and their allowance from 100 pounds a week to ten pounds a day in France and Spain, and to seven in other places. Though this be pretended by the Commissioners as only a piece of a general scheme of parsimony they find necessary in the present condition of the revenue, yet I understand it as calculated just at this time particularly for me; and my Lord Arlington confesses he thinks it so too, and takes part in it as a piece of envy or malice to himself as well as to me, from some who are spighted at all that has lately passed between us and Holland, and at the persons who have been at the head of those counsels. For my part, I resent it not only as a thing I have not deserved, upon an employment cast wholly upon me by the King's choice, and, as he seems to think, by the necessity of his affairs; but as that which I find plainly, by the short experience of my last ambassy, will not defray the expence of another, with any honour to the King or myself abroad; and, though I do not pretend to make my fortune by these employments, yet I confess I do not pretend to ruin it neither. I have therefore been resolved several times absolutely to refuse this ambassy, unless it be upon the terms all others have had; but my Lord Arlington puts so much weight upon my going, that he will not hear of it: he says, it is that our good friends would have, and intend by this usage; and that I can no way disappoint them so much as by going, and that this rule will be broken in three months time: that I should not consider small matters of money in the course of my fortune, and that the King cannot fail of making mine at a lump one time or other: that there is nothing I may not expect from him upon my return from this ambassy: and that, if his Majesty had not thought me of absolute necessity to him in Holland upon

Digitized by Google

this conjuncture, he had brought me now into Secretary Morris's place, which upon my going abroad is designed for Sir John Trevor. My Lord Keeper is of the same mind, to have me by no means refuse it (as he says) neither for the King's sake nor my own; and your old friend Sir Robert Long agrees with them both; and says, after a year or two of this ambassy, I cannot fail of either being Secretary of State, or sent Ambassador into Spain: which are both certain ways of making any man's fortune.

With all this, I confess, I find it not very easy to resolve, and very much desire yours and my brother's opinion upon it: and, that you may the better give it me, I shall tell it you with one circumstance which weighs a little with me, though not at all with my friends here.

They are all of opinion, the measures the King has lately taken cannot be broken nor altered, however they may be snarled at by some persons, upon particular envy or interest; but I see plainly there are others of another mind. Sir Thomas Clifford said to a friend of mine in confidence, upon all the joy that was here at the conclusion of the triple alliance. 'Well, for all this noise, we must yet have another war with the Dutch before it be long.' And I see plainly already, that he and Sir George Downing are endeavouring with all the industry that can be, to engage the East-India Company here in such demands and pretensions upon the Dutch, as will never be yielded to on that side, and will increase a jealousy, they will ever have of our unsteady counsels, and of our leaving still a door open for some new offences when we shall have a mind to take them. On the other side, the French will leave no stone unturned to break this confidence between us and Holland, which spoils all their measures, and without which they had the

Digitized by Google

world before them. If they can, they will undermine it in Holland by jealousies of the Prince of Orange, or any other artifice, and will spare neither promises nor threats. If I should be able to keep that side staunch, they will spare none of the same endeavours here, and will have some good helps that I see already, and may have others that do not yet appear. If by any of these ways, or other accidents, our present measures come to change; I am left in Holland to a certain loss, upon the terms they would send me, though I should be paid; but to a certain ruin if I should not; which I may well expect from the good quarter I may reckon upon from some in the treasury; and, when my ambassy ends, I may find a new world here, and all the fine things I am told of, may prove castles in the air: there is, I know, a great deal to be said for my going; but on the other side, I am well as I am, and cannot be ruined but by such an adventure as this. I beg of you to let me know your opinion upon the whole; and, if I could have the confidence, I should beg a great deal more earnestly that I might see you here, since I cannot get loose to wait on you there. Till I hear from you, I shall let the talk and the forms of my ambassy go on, and am confident, however they presume, yet I can spin out the time of my going till about the end of August, in hopes of seeing you here; which will be, I am sure, the greatest satisfaction that can befal, Sir, your, &c.

Digitized by Google

LETTERS

TO

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

From Sir Thomas Clifford.

Sir, Copenhagen, October 7, 1665.

I HAVE received your obliging letter of the $\frac{2}{10}$th past; and the news of this country is like the commodities, not of equal value with the more southern, and so you are like to be a loser by the barter: but your kindness is the greater. I hope the King of Spain's death will no way alter the state of our affairs with that Crown. I cannot tell you the effect of my negotiation here, but shall in my next give you some hints. The direction of your letter brings it safe to me: I shall advise you before I remove. Here came a report last night, that a squadron of the English fleet had taken out of Fleckery nine of the Dutch merchant-men, and ran another on shore: but I have examined it, and find there was no ground for the report. Two of their East-India-men are still at Tunsburg, near Christiana in Norway, and two more are returned to Bergen: but the six men-of-war and East-India-man that came here in the Sound after the storm, are put to sea, and gone toward the Texel. The East-India ship that got into the river of Elve, is there unlading, and they are sending the goods home in little small vessels, under the convoy only of a little

Digitized by Google

toy of eight or ten guns: they go home over the Watts: a privateer lying there would probably make his market.

Last night some Dutch ships going for Dantzick arrived here, and boasted, that their fleet of ninety sail, under De Ruyter, sailed upon Sunday last, the first instant, towards England, and to the Channel, as they thought, to join with the French; but no body gives credit to the relation.

You see what shift I make to complete my bill of store; but pray let it not dishearten you from corresponding: for, if I have nothing else to say, I shall be glad of opportunities to express myself, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant.

From the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor.

Sir, Oxford, December 28, 1665.

I DO confess I have, since we parted, received three letters from you, which I should be ashamed to acknowledge now, if I had been faulty in not doing it sooner; as I promise myself you have been informed from my Lord Arlington's justice and friendship. It is now near three months, that the pain of the gout hath restrained me from the exercise of writing: and I am hardly yet returned to it, because not able to put my head out of doors, or more than to stand, rather than walk in my chamber: so that I would not have ventured to have given you this trouble, but upon the absence of my Lord Arlington (who hath transmitted to you constantly what we thought jointly): but upon the sight of your last letter, which came since his departure, I think it necessary to say a little to you upon a particular or two.

I do in the first place think and believe the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo to be a very generous person,

Digitized by Google

and a very useful friend to the King our Master; and one who will be the best instrument to contribute to that firm friendship between the two Crowns, that is necessary for the joint interest of *both*; and therefore we must be careful to remove the least umbrage, which may dispose him to suspect our prudence with reference to our own affairs, or our affection with reference to Spain. With reference to ourselves, it is not possible we can be without a sense of the almost insupportable weight that lies upon us, in the carrying on the war against the Dutch, and preparing for a war against France: and therefore we cannot but heartily wish to be fairly quit of one of them; and would be very glad that any advance were made to it by Holland. I thought always that the overture made by the Spanish Ambassador had come from *Don Stephano*, and never heard the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo's name: but, it being the very same in terms that the French Ambassadors had made, there could then be no proceedings upon it. But we have done all we can to invite the Dutch to an address how privately soever: nor shall we make any demands concerning the Prince of Orange, lest it should do him hurt. If we can bring them off from a conjunction with France (in which Spain is more concerned than England), I am confident we shall insist upon very reasonable conditions. We have great reason to commend the proceedings of the Bishop of Munster: nor are we jealous in the least degree of him, or his treating: and as our failing towards him has not proceeded from any faults of ours, but even from the hand of God; so we shall out of hand repair those omissions: and it is but reasonably expected that the Princes of the Empire should (how secretly soever) support him from a dissolution, lest, before many months passed, and the French

Digitized by Google

designs are a little more evident, they would be glad to repurchase the advantage of the Bishop's being in such a post as he now is, at any price.

There is nothing now ought to be laboured with so much industry and dexterity, as the uniting England, Spain, and Flanders, which would give, and which only can give, peace to Christendom. I am sure our Master is passionately inclined to it, and truly I think Spain is well disposed in the main: yet I know not how by the fatal delay in dispatch there (and it may be their expectation, that, in the straits we are, we shall buy their friendship at a rate we shall never pay for it), the haste is not made that the affair required. My Lord Sandwich (who will be gone in twenty days) I hope will give life to it.

You see how ill my hand is, though never legible, by shaking and weakness somewhat worse than usual. God keep you: and I pray let me know, that this is come to your hands from, Sir, your affectionate servant.

*From Sir George Savile.**

Sir, Feb. 5, N. S. 1666.

It is a sin against the public, and a trespass upon you, at this time to clog you with such an idle correspondence as mine: but I find I consider my own interest before yours; being not able to make you an expression of my kindness at so dear a rate as the denying myself the satisfaction of hearing from you. And therefore I take hold of your offer, and beg you would sometimes bestow a letter upon me, which shall be as welcome for telling me you are well, as it can be for the best news it bringeth in relation to the public: for which, if I can be concerned, next to what I am for my best friends, it

* Afterwards Marquis of Hallifax.

Digitized by Google

is the utmost I will pretend to in that matter. I find his Majesty of France will be an angry enemy. He doth not declare war like an *honnête homme;* and therefore I hope he will not pursue it *like* a wise one.

I do not despair, but that the English, who use to go into France for their breeding, may have the honour once to teach them better manners. The league with Spain is a good circumstance to make us able to do it; it is so seasonable and so well done, that I will suppose you had a hand in it. In the mean time we have great alarms the Monsieur will invade us, which makes every body prepare for their entertainment. And I hope they will neither find us so little ready, or so divided, as perhaps they expect.

I will not make this longer, when I have assured you I am, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.

From the Bishop of Munster.

Munster, Feb. 12, 1666.

Sir,

The favours you have expressed to me are such, that nothing can add to my esteem of you: however, it was very acceptable to find from yours of the 25th past, that your affection to me still continues. In the mean time I am busy in preparing an army against spring; nor do I doubt but such care is taken of the third payment, that I may have it altogether; at least, that you have prepared 30,000 dollars ready at Brussels, and that 25,000 more may be returned with all speed by exchange to Cologn: for it is certain, that by small sums, and paid by parcels, nothing

Ab Episcopo Monasterii.

Monasterii, Feb. 12, 1666.

Generose Domine,

Dominationem vestram ita meis rebus faventem reipsa semper expertus sum, ut nullâ quidem contestatione meæ desuper conceptæ existimationi plus addi possit; gratissimum tamen fuit, ex ejusdem literis de 25to elapsi mensis Januarii percipere, quod D. V. eundem zelum & affectum continuet. Ego interim non desino instruere & præparare exercitum imminenti jam veri; nec dubito de tertio termino sic provisum, ut integrè à meis sublevari possit, aut certè dispositione D^us V^ræ triginta thalerorum millia Bruxellis in paratis præsto sint, & viginti quinque millia Coloniam cambio quantocius transmittan-

Digitized by Google

can be performed worthy of such an undertaking; and that my expedition will be as much obstructed by these, as if the subsidies were wholly delayed. Besides, I shall this year meet with more resistance by enemies unexpected, to whom the Elector of Brandenburg will join himself. But that I hope will be recompensed by the friendship of Sweden, and his Majesty's declaratory letters communicated to me, and to be kept secret. Nor shall any thing be more inviolably observed by me, than the league I have made with his Majesty, from which nothing shall be able to force me. Nor is there any reason why the offer of a mediation from the Emperor and Princes should raise any suspicions of the contrary, since the present conjunctures would not permit me abruptly to refuse it. And, in order to gain time, I have kept that affair within preliminaries, relating to the persons of the Mediators, the manner of negotiation, and the means of security to be proposed, being resolved by any means not to separate myself from his Majesty; from whose protection I trust to procure safety and satisfaction to myself. I am glad of the peace between England and Spain being signed at Madrid, and that it is sent into England to be ratified. I wish the effects of it be not delayed; and that the Spaniards may be ready at the time, against whom I hear the Hollanders have also declared war by the instigation of the French. Your most obliged servant.

tur. Certum enim est minutis summulis & carptim solutis, vix quicquam pro dignitate tantæ rei effici posse; nec minus ex his, quam dilatis subsidiis, expeditionem meam incommodi cepisse. Quæ quidem hoc anno plus resistentiæ & difficultatis à tot inopinatis hostibus, quibus & Elector Brandenburgicus se sociabit, habitura est. Id tamen fiducia amicitiæ Sueciæ compensatum existimo, accendentibus S. Regiæ Majestatis declaratoriis literis mihi communicatis, & secretò servandis. Nihilque mihi unquam erit antiquius aut magis inviolabile noto fœdere cum S. Regiâ Majestate sancito, à quo nullo modo divelli me patiar. Nec est, quòd oblata Cæsaris & quorundam principum mediatio umbras aliquas contrariæ suspicionis invehere possit; cùm illam præfractè respuere nec temporum horum ratio patiatur, nec mihi consultum fuerit, qui, lucrando tempori inde occasionem nactus, rem omnem hactenus intra præliminaria de ipsis personis Mediatorum, de modo tractandi, & mediis securitatis proponendis continui, certus non separare me à S. Regiâ Majestate, cujus auspiciis, & satisfactionem, & securitatem me consecuturum confido. Quòd fœdus Anglo-Hispanum Madriti jam tum signatum, & ad ratificandum in Angliam transmissum sit, libenter accepi; optarem sanè hujus effectum non deferri, & Hispanos tempori paratos esse, quibus etiam ab Hollandis bellum Gallorum instigatione denunciandum intelligo: ac hisce maneo Dominationis vestræ addictiss.

Digitized by Google

From Sir George Savile.

Sir, April 4, 1666.

THIS must carry my thanks to you for two letters I received at the same time from you, which giveth me a fair occasion to say a great deal to you; but that I will not trespass upon our agreement, to omit ceremony, or any thing that looketh like it. Yet, you must give me leave to tell you, I think myself as much assured of your kindness, by your letting me stay in your thoughts (when you might forget me without breach of friendship, considering the weight of business that lieth upon you), as I could be by any mark of it you can imagine: and if you will suppose my sense of it answerably, and reckon upon my service accordingly; if it may ever be of use to you, you will do me but *right*. In the mean time you make me sensible of the inconvenience of living out of the world: now that I find it impossible for me to write three lines of sense in exchange for your letters, that are full of every thing which can make them welcome. I am so ashamed you should converse with a dead man, that I almost wish the French landed upon our coast, thinking it better to write you a sad story than none. How soon I may be furnished with something of this kind, dependeth upon our success at sea, and the faith of your Bishop, which may well be shaken, if you do not support it with your bills of exchange. He is likely to be so over-matched this next campaign, that I doubt he will be tempted to break faith with heretics, rather than be a martyr in our calendar. I should be glad to hear Spain would come into our scales, to help us to weigh down our enemies; but I fear their ill luck in the late war hath not left them spirit enough to fall out with the French, though their interest provoketh them

Digitized by Google

to it. Besides, the Crown is in a cradle; and a Spanish Council I imagine to be as slow an assembly as a House of Commons. So that we must rely upon the oak and courage of England to do our business, there being small appearance of any thing to help us from abroad.

I believe, before this cometh to your hands, you will be waiting upon Mademoiselle Beverwaert, who is a testimony that this war hath given us no such antipathy to the Dutch, since we chuse one to breed Statesmen for the next age. The Captain that went upon so peaceable an errand, and into a friend's harbour, had ill fortune to be so roughly saluted: but, it being a single act of the officer, without any order from his superiors, it is of no more consequence to us than the sound of it may amount to.

I direct this as you bid me: and, though it should not come to you, I assure myself you would not impute it to the omission, but to the ill fortune, of, Sir, your most faithful humble servant.

From the Bishop of Munster.

May 21, 1666.

Sir,

I DOUBT not but by your good offices the reception of my envoy the Baron de Rosenback at Court will be so prepared, as that his Majesty may have an account of my designs: and I hope you will continue your favour so far, as the King may be persuaded that the necessity, which forced me to accept the peace, has not taken any thing from the profession of that honour, duty, and service, I shall ever pay him. To which end I have ordered my agent

Ab Episcopo Monasterii.

Lugderio, Maii 21, 1666.

Generose Domine,

Non dubito officiis Dⁱⁱ Vrę aditum in aula Regis ablegato meo Baroni de Rosenback ita præparatum, ut S. Regiæ Majestati ratio consilii mei præbeatur; quod Dom. Vram ita continuaturam spero, ut Rex persuasum omnino habeat istam necessitatem, quæ mihi pacis leges imposuit, nihil prorsus detraxisse de animo quo S. Majestatis observantiæ, gloriæ, & utilitati, æternùm devotus sum. Eumque in finem mandavi agenti meo Rentorf intimam meo nomine

Digitized by Google

Rentorf to cultivate a strict friendship in my name, as well as to communicate to you my most secret affairs, resolving to watch all occasions for the service of his Majesty; in order to which, I have sent back to the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo the Brabant troops, as well as those raised in the circle of Burgundy, all entire. And now some German regiments, well armed and exercised, are preparing for their march into Flanders, of whose valour the Hollanders themselves are witnesses, as I believe you know already from the said Marquis. Now, since it concerns me very much that his Majesty should know these soldiers are kept in his service, I should be extremely satisfied if you would inform the King of it, at the same time that the said Baron de Rosenback will be arrived at London. And that it be represented as a mark of my eternal devotion to his Majesty. In which you will highly oblige me: and in confidence whereof I remain, Sir, your most obliged servant.

cum Dne Vrâ communicationem mearum rerum, & amicitiam colere, intentus semper in occasiones omnes futuras pro servitio S. Majestatis; quem in finem copias Brabanticas, & in circulo Burgundico conscriptas, Domino Marchioni de Castel-Rodrigo integras remisi; & jam itineri in Belgium Hispanicum accinguntur legiones aliquot Germanorum; fortis sanè & exercitatus miles, de quorum virtute ipsi fœderati Belgæ testari poterunt; uti Dom. Vestram jam ex prædicto domino gubernatore latiùs cognovisse arbitror. Cùm autem meâ plurimum intersit, ut Regiæ Majestati suæ constet militem hunc in suo servitio conservari; pergratum mihi foret, si Dio Vestra de eo, facilitandæ intentioni meæ, quamprimum & sine morâ hoc ipso tempore quo dictus Baro de Rosenback Londinum appulerit, S. Majestatem certiorem faciat, & tanquam indicium ratum æternæ meæ in Regem fidei contestetur: quo me Dio Vra sibi summopere obligabit; et hâc fiduciâ maneo Dominationi vestræ addictiss.

From my Lord Arlington.

Sir, Whitehall, July 30, 1666.

WHAT I received in yours of the 2d was written to me at large, from him whom I suppose to be the author of it, but not exactly with the same circumstances: whether his meaning or his imagination fail him, is a great question here. His name to speak freely with you, is able to discredit any truth: and against the grain I employed him in Holland,

Digitized by Google

not to make him the instrument of a peace, but to send us news: however, I do not yet discourage him from writing, though I wish what he saith came from any hand rather than his. Accordingly, you shall do well to handle him: and this is enough upon this subject, when I have so much a better to entertain you upon. Here inclosed you have the effective truth of what I sent you the symptoms in my last. I durst not hazard any of my acquaintance with the putting it into French, because of the sea terms wherewith it abounds: but, if you can get it well done, and quickly published, you will do his Majesty a good service, and may fairly put the cost of it into your accounts. Moreover, I have promised his Majesty to charge you with the writing of some small paper, and publishing it in French, that may pleasantly and pertinently awaken the good patriots in Holland, not only to thoughts and wishes of peace, but to a reasonable application for it; assuring them his Majesty continues still to wish it, and would gladly receive any overtures for it from the States, here in his own Kingdom, not expecting less from them in this kind, than they did to the usurper Cromwell. This done in any form you like best would certainly operate well in Holland, and be a work worthy of your pen; which, I know, has sufficiency very much greater. One thing especially it will be good to mind them of, the considerable succours and advantages they have had by the conjunction with France; which hath not been remarkably visible in any thing more than in getting their narratives to be believed in all the Courts of Christendom, and helping them to make their bonfires for their successes.

His Majesty is going this night to visit the Queen at Tunbridge; for which he had not leisure till now. I am, Sir, your most affectionate servant.

P. S. Let your emissaries give you a particular

Digitized by Google

account of the condition of the Dutch fleet gotten into Zealand, and of the readiness they are in to come out again; with an exact account of their strength if it be possible. Monsieur Nypho will help to convey it speedily to us.

From the Earl of Clarendon.

Sir, Worcester-House, August 2, 1666.

I HAVE many excuses to make you for not acknowledging all your letters punctually when I received them, which I suppose would give you some trouble: and I am sure all I can say to you, by way of information or advice, is constantly and abundantly supplied by the diligence of my good friend my Lord Arlington.

The last favour I received from you was of the 23d of this month; since which time it hath pleased God to give a wonderful improvement to our affairs: and yet I am persuaded that you there know more of the full extent of the late great victory than we do. In all mens view it is very great and noble, and in one respect very wonderful, that almost the whole fleet that went from hence rides now before the enemies harbours, without being compelled to send any considerable number of their ships to be repaired: and I believe this success will change the measures of most of the counsels in Christendom. I wish with all my heart it may work upon them from whom your Court must receive its orders, to move with a little more vigour in their resolutions: the want of which will at some time or other prove fatal to that monarchy. They have it yet in their power to secure themselves from ever receiving prejudice from the French; which I take to be the only blessing they are to pray for in this world: but it will not be always in their power to do so.

I presume my good friend Ogniate is before this

Digitized by Google

time arrived there with good satisfaction: and I will not deny to you I always wished well to those transactions, the concessions being (in truth) no other than what in justice ought to be granted; except we would declare to the world, that, whilst we have a war with Holland, we will have no peace with Flanders. I wish with all my heart that it may be punctually and religiously observed on our part, by the exemplary punishment of those persons who in the least degree violate the protection agreed upon. And though there will be, as you say, a great latitude for them to cover the Dutch trade; yet that cannot be long without discovery, and they will thereby render themselves infamous to the world, and will suffer accordingly. I know the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo will be as jealous in that affair as possible: and Ogniate, who was the fittest person alive to be sent on that errand, will be vigilant to the utmost; and I am confident will advertise the Marquis upon the least discovery. I know not whether he be enough known to you; but, trust me, he is very worthy of your friendship, which is due to him from all good Englishmen, having expressed the same veneration to the King, and the same civility and kindness to us, who had the honour at the same time to attend his Majesty, when we were in Flanders, as he can do now, when we are at Whitehall. And, as that respect of his was then of great use and benefit to his Majesty, so it was apparently to his own prejudice and disadvantage; so that, if we are not all kind to him, we deserve no more such friends. I am, Sir, your affectionate servant.

From Sir William Coventry.

Sir, September 21, 1667.

SINCE my last to you, I have acquainted his Majesty and his Royal Highness with your having dis-

Digitized by Google

posed the blank passes sent to you; and that the people of those countries were still desirous of those passes; though there was another provision made for their security, by the agreement with M. Ogniate: whereupon his Majesty gave consent to the sending over some more of them. By this conveyance I send you five of them. More shall be sent hereafter, if you continue to desire them: but I thought not fit to swell this pacquet too much.

The French fleet hath been in the Channel, and Prince Rupert's fleet having been driven from their anchors with a storm, and by other such accidents, he did not meet with them at their first coming; and now we are uncertain whether they are not gone back again. To-morrow will tell us more of that than I can now affirm. The storm which drove Prince Rupert's fleet from their anchors dispersed some of the French fleet, and seven of them on the right fell into our white squadron: one of them (a ship called the Ruby) of fifty-four guns, and five-hundred men, we took; and some of our frigates pursued the rest, with what success I know not as yet. I am apt to believe the body of their fleet is gone back again towards Brest or Rochel. We hear De Ruyter is dead, and another Admiral chosen.

This day the Parliament voted that they will supply his Majesty proportionably to his occasions, or words to that effect; so our neighbours will see our hearts do not fail us in all our misfortunes. I am, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant.

From the Duke of Ormond.

Sir, Kilkenny, October 14, 1666.

I HAVE more of yours to acknowledge than I have by me to take particular notice of. They were very pertinent informations as things then went:

Digitized by Google

and some of them got hither with so much speed, that they out-ran any intelligence I could get out of England. To-morrow I shall be in your livery, and perhaps try whether your Brussels camlet will resist Irish rain, as I have known it do that of Flanders. I must thank you for the present, as coming very seasonably, both in respect of the time of the year, and that, for aught I can yet find, my Michaelmas rent would hardly have purchased two cloaks: and that your stuff will make me, if I shall be honestly dealt with.

I know both from hence and out of England, you are informed of all that passes here. The Commissioners and their dependents, I mean lawyers, and the train belonging to that Court, have all the business, and will have all the money; and consequently, if they please, much of the land contended for, and to be distributed. In England they are revenging upon us here the falling of their rents, but, I doubt, not repairing themselves; they have us, and perhaps the King, at an advantage: the King must be supplied, and England only can do it. I wish we could hear of some overtures towards peace; then would the King be freed from a necessity of consenting to unreasonable things; or we should be the better able to bear the interdicture of our trade with England: for to that, upon the matter, the forbidding us to send our cattle to their markets will amount. I am very really, Sir, your most affectionate servant.

From Sir William Coventry.

Sir, Whitehall, November 2, 1666.

I HAVE received the favour you did me of the 5th, N. S. and received with it the bill of exchange for fifty pounds, which, I doubt not, will suddenly be paid. I owe so many of those advantages to your

Digitized by Google

care and kindness, that they become ordinary, and do not leave me any new expressions for my thanks.

We have great expectations what the Swedes army at Bremen, and the new confederation against them, will produce. We hear the Duke of Savoy and the State of Geneva are falling out, which probably will not want partners in its success: so that the influence of Sixty-six will extend itself farther than the puritans allowance for the Revelations to be fulfilled in, which they confine to England.

We are debating still in Parliament which way to raise money, but we draw nearer a conclusion; and I believe the next week will bring it to good maturity. I am, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant.

From the Duke of Ormond.

Sir, Dublin, December 18, 1666.

YOURS of the $\frac{9}{19}$ past found me on my way hither, where I propose to spend the rest of the winter. How the summer will be spent, seems very doubtful; our preparations for the war would make one think we are sure of a peace; which may be well said without any reflection on the King and his Ministers.

I am once to thank you for your great civility to my nephew Clancarty, in whose consideration you have undertaken to endeavour a pass for Colonel Murphy, and for the disposition of the money the Colonel was ordered (if he thought fit) to put into your hand. I have by this post written to Sir John Shaw to draw it into England when he shall find it best; and I am prepared to pay the Colonel here.

I believe you heard as soon of the suppression, as of the raising, of the Scottish commotion; perhaps equal credit would not be given in Holland to both. It made me hasten hither, and prepare myself to have

Digitized by Google

kept Christmas in the North, if the rebellion had lasted. What discovery will be made, and justice done upon the offenders, you will receive sooner knowledge of out of England, than from hence. I am very confident they had well-wishers here; which is a good, or rather a bad, step to correspondency, as that is to conjunction. Those that think well of Presbyterians, distinguish those fellows, and call them Remonstrators. I think the true difference is, these thought they had power to change the government, and the other do wish they had.

When you are at leisure, I wish to know what kind of fort is raised at Charleroy, and what number of men, horse, and foot, it will contain. I am, with all reality, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant.

From the Duke of Ormond.

Sir, Dublin, January 29, 1667.

The success of your negotiations gives no man greater satisfaction for the part you had in it, than to me. The happy consequences which may reasonably be expected from the conclusion of that treaty, may extend farther and last longer, than I have had time, since I received yours of the 24th instant, to consider. I confess, my first reflections were upon the good effect it will have at home, and the good humour it is likely to put the Parliament in at their first meeting; which I look upon as the foundation of all other advantages to be derived from it by reputation, and all the good effects of that amongst our neighbours. I should be glad to hear where or when you are like to fix, that my letters may be conveyed to you when I think they may be worth your receiving from, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant.

Digitized by Google

From my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

Sir, Breda, August 4, N. S. 1667.

YOURS of the 29th July I have received, and thank you for it. I doubt not but by this time you have heard of the several treaties of peace signed here the $\frac{31}{21}$ of July. We were so very busy in dispatching away Sir John Coventry for England with the treaties, that I had not leisure till now to give you an account of it. That between the States and us consisteth in an absolute abolition of all pretences on either side, each to remain masters of what they were in possession of the $\frac{10}{20}$ of May 1667; what since taken, to be restored, as to lands and fortresses: ships are yet liable till after publication, when all hostilities are to cease within twelve days in the Channel, and so proportionably in other seas; then the whole treaty of 1662 renewed, and we both to make use of the articles between France and this State for contraband goods, till such time as we can agree of one between ourselves. The rest is a restoring of the treaty in 1662, as to all its articles except the eleventh, wherein our pretensions are contained. As to the act of navigation, you will hear much noise, that that is repealed. There is no such thing; neither doth the article about that matter give the States any more advantage, than as I conceive the act gave them before. As to the French, we restore all to each other that each hath taken, and all things done put in oblivion. As to Denmark, —— the debt he owed the Hamburgh Company, France standing very firm to him upon the point; and their greatest argument was, that it was not a debt contracted by him or his father; but, on the contrary, imposed on his father for having assisted the late King; and besides they gave us our choice

Digitized by Google

either to agree thus, or to account for what had been taken on each side, and render: the latter was thought the more prejudicial to the King our Master; and so this hath passed. And there is, I think, the substance of the three treaties.

How or where this letter will find you, we know not: for we here believe Brussels besieged, and that, according to the fashion of this year's campaign, is little less than taken.

All public Ministers have, or will have, left this town within a day or two, except ourselves. To-morrow fortnight they all meet here again, expecting the ratification. I am, Sir, with very great sincerity, your most faithful humble servant.

From my Lord Hollis.

Sir, Breda, July 4, N. S. 1667.

I HAVE received yours by my Lord Stafford's servant, and see you have put off your journey hither in expectation we might be removing hence; and for which it seems the Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo is pleased to express himself with so much civility and kindness towards us; for which both my Lord Ambassador Coventry and myself do return our most humble thanks. But it will not be possible that we can remove so soon; so as assuredly you will have time enough to do us that favour, and very gladly we shall receive it from you; when we may at leisure discourse of the present posture of our affairs, and make those sad reflections which they deserve; and which will be much fitter for a conference, than to be set down in paper. I shall reserve them till then, and in the mean time, and ever, remain, Sir, your very affectionate and most humble servant.

Digitized by Google

From my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

Sir, Breda, August $\frac{14}{24}$, 1667.

I AM very thankful to you for the buck you sent us; and it came very well, and so seasonably, that I made use of some of it the very morning it came. We have no news to send you from hence, but that we are now altogether employed in jollity, and expect our ships to give us some sea physic, to purge the excesses we make. Your health is not only what we drink, but what we pray for. The first part hath already been useful to digest our venison, and the other we reserve for more important considerations. In conclusion, we hear more of drums and trumpets since the peace, than we did in the war; though I hope this will not be so fatal a noise as they make at Lisle. I am sorry both for the want of your company, and the reason of it. Now, our own peace is done, I could wish with all my heart Christendom's were so too. Sir, I pray believe me to be, what I very sincerely am, your most faithful humble servant.

*From my * Lord Lisle.*

Sir, September 26, 1667.

SINCE I had your last letter, I have made you no acknowledgment of it: a retirement is in several respects like the night of one's life, in the obscurity and darkness, and in the sleepiness and dosedness: which I mention to put you in mind that I am only by my posture of life apt to be failing towards you.

What is of Court or assemblies near us, is at my

* Afterwards Earl of Leicester.

Digitized by Google

Lord Crofts's. Sir Thomas Ingram this summer hath made no noise at all. Old Lady Devonshire keeps up her feasts still; and that hath been of late Mr. Waller's chief theatre: the assembly of wits at Mr. Comptroller's will scarce let him in: and poor Sir John Denham is fallen to the ladies also. He is at many of the meetings at dinners, talks more than ever he did, and is extremely pleased with those that seem willing to hear him; and from that obligation exceedingly praises the Dutchess of Monmouth and my Lady Cavendish; if he had not the name of being mad, I believe in most companies he would be thought wittier than ever he was. He seems to have few extravagancies, besides that of telling stories of himself, which he is always inclined to. Some of his acquaintance say, that extreme vanity was a cause of his madness, as well as it is an effect.

All persons of note hereabouts are going to their winter-quarters at London. The burning of the city begins to be talked of as a story like that of the burning of Troy. At Sheen we are like to be bare: Lady Luddal seems uncertain in her stay; and we hear that, when Sir James Sheen and his Lady were ready to come from Ireland, great cramps took my Lady in her limbs: and Sir James's servants doubt whether we shall see him this winter.

I desire, Sir, your leave to kiss my Lady Temple's hands, and my Lady Giffard's hands, by your letter. My daughter and I were in dispute which of us two should write this time to Brussels; and, because I was judged to have more leisure, it fell to me, and my Lady Temple is to have the next from her.

I wish you, Sir, all good successes in your business, and am your very affectionate servant.

Digitized by Google

From the Earl of Sandwich.

Sir, Madrid, September 27, 1667.

THIS begs your pardon for my not writing by the last post, and presents you my humble thanks for that letter I should then have acknowledged, and another of September 7, N. S. which, with many advices very considerable and desirable to be known, gives me one particular satisfaction, to hear that one copy of the treaty is in so certain a way of getting home. There are two more gone by sea, one from Calais, August 2, N. S. the other express by a vessel from Rigo in Gallicia, August 31, N. S. designed to set a gentleman of my company ashore in Ireland on the south part; which course I directed as a certain way to avoid the danger of the sea, and no very tedious way of passage; I suppose all these likely to arrive in England much about a time.

This place affords not much considerable news to return you. Our Portugal adjustment keeps the pace of the accustomed Spanish gravity (if it proceed forward at all). They have here removed the President of the Hazienda, (or, as they call it, *jubilar'd* him), giving him his salary still of 6000 ducats *per annum*, for his own life, his wife's, and his eldest son's; and also have given him some other considerable *mercedes;* and have made Don Lopez de los Rois President de Hazienda in his room. This last is Castillo's near kinsman and creature, the other a near kinsman of the Duke of Medina's de las Torres.

The Conde de Fwensalida is lately dead (a Grandee of Spain). My chief business here is a longing expectation to hear of the treaty I have made here to be received in England, which now I daily shall hope for; and, as any thing thence, or here,

Digitized by Google

occurs worth your notice, it shall be presented you by, Sir, your affectionate and most humble servant.

From the Earl of Sandwich.

Sir, Madrid, December $\frac{14}{24}$, 1667.

I HOPE from your goodness to find pardon for missing the other posts, but dare not adventure your patience to fail this also, though I am now hurried by business, so that I have not time so largely and considerately to write as I desire. Be pleased then to know that Mr. Godolphin's journey to Portugal suffered so much delay, until it was found necessary that I must go in person thither; and then he resolved to make use of the King my Master's leave to return into England, and began his journey for Bilboa on Tuesday morning last. You know the value of Mr. Godolphin so well, that it is needless to tell you my griefs in parting from one of the most accomplished, worthy, and generous friends that ever I met with: and am heartily glad that your friendship and mine do also *convenire in aliquo tertio.*

My journey for Portugal hath almost met with as many or more calms than Mr. Godolphin's: and, in good earnest, I am not able to give you any light, whether it be likely to proceed or no.

The Spaniards have reformed two regiments of Germans at Badajos; very good officers they say, and are resolved never to serve the Spaniard more. The King of Spain has had the small-pox; but is so recovered, as they fear no danger.

In Portugal, Don Pedro is made Governor to assist his brother in the same nature as his mother did when she was Regent: and the addresses are made in the same manner.

The Queen is returned to a convent, asserting herself to be a maid: and the King has under his

Digitized by Google

hand and oath delivered the same. So the Queen pursues the cause among the church-men to have the marriage declared null. There are Cortes to be called there January 1, N. S. On the 7th instant, N. S. the Marquis of Sande (the Ambassador that brought the Queen) was shot and killed in the street with a carabine, and nobody knows who did it.

I wish you a very merry Christmas, and am most affectionately, Sir, your most faithful and most humble servant.

P.S. If I go to Portugal, pray continue our correspondence to Mr. John Werden, a Gentleman worthy of your favour, and very able and securely my friend, who does me the favour to continue in my house, and manages the King's business in this Court in my absence, and will send me your letters.

From Monsieur Gourville.

Luneburg, Jan. 28,
Sir, 1668.

By a copy of the letter written from the King of England to the States, I understand you are a peaceable man: and the memorial you have given to desire commissioners, in order to examine jointly with you into the means for a good peace, makes us believe that you desire in good earnest to give repose to Christendom. You know I have always desired it; but however it will be the more agreeable to see it done by your hands. In good earnest, I am glad the King of England has made choice of you for so great and important an affair: when his Majesty knows your merits, I assure myself you will be always in the greatest employ-

De Monsieur Gourville.

A Luneboug, 28 Jan.
Monsieur, 1668.

Par la copie de la lettre que sa Majesté Britannique a écrite aux Etats des Provinces Unies, j'apprens que vous êtes un homme pacifique; la memoire que vous avez presentée pour demander des commissaires pour chercher ensemble les moyens de parvenir à une bonne paix, doit faire croire que c'est tout de bon que vous voulez donner le répos à la Chrêtienté. Vous savez comme je l'ai toujours souhaité; mais elle me sera autant plus agréable, de la voir faite de vôtre main: tout de bon je me rejouïs que sa Majesté Britannique vous ait choisi pour une si grande & si importante affaire. Quand elle connoîtra vôtre merite, je m'assure que vous aurez toujours les

Digitized by Google

ments; and I assure you, that I shall always be making wishes for your advancement till I see you made Chancellor of England. In the mean time I shall be ever, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant.

P. S. If you have a desire to make the peace, I look upon it as very far advanced; the Princes here shew their desire of it. I did not think to stay in this country above eight or ten days; yet here I am after four months. Pray let me know whether you think the assembly will be at Aix, and near what time, that I may keep my lodgings there; and, if you will tell me in confidence the opinion you have of the peace, I shall be obliged to you: mine is, that you may make it if you please; but I am not yet convinced whether you can hinder it, if Monsieur de Witt has so much desire to make it, as many people believe, according to what I am told.

plus grands emplois; & je vous assure de la meilleure foi du monde, que jusqu'à ce que je vous voye Chancelier d'Angleterre, je ferai toujours des vœux pour vôtre avancement. Et en attendant, je serai toujours plus veritablement que personne du monde, vôtre très humble & très obéissant serviteur.

P. S. Si vous avez bien envie de faire la paix, je la tiens fort avancée; les Princes ici temoignent la desirer: je ne croyois demeurer en ce païs ici que huit ou dix jours, & m'y voila au bout de quatre mois. Je vous prie de me mander si vous croyez que l'on s'assemblera à Aix, & à peu près le tems, afin que j'y fasse retenir ma chambre: & si vous voulez confidemment me mander l'opinion que vous avez de la paix, je vous en serai obligé. La mienne est que si vous la voulez que vous la ferez: mais je ne suis pas si convaincu que vous la puissiez empêcher, si Monsieur de Witt a autant d'envie de la faire, comme bien de gens le croyent, selon ce que l'on m'en mande.

From Monsieur Gourville.

Luneburg, Feb. 22, 1668.

Sir,

ALL your modest reasoning will not hinder me from believing that any other Minister the King of England could have sent to the Hague, would not have finished in many months what you have done in four days. Without flattery, it is a thing you ought to be extremely satisfied with. I suspected at first, that you had made this

De Monsieur Gourville.

A Lunebourg, 22 Fevr. 1668.

Monsieur,

Toute la modestie de vôtre raisonnement ne m'empêchera pas de croire, que tout autre Ministre que sa Majesté Britannique eut envoyé à la Haye, n'auroit pas fait en bien de mois ce que vous avez achevé en quatre jours. Sans flatterie c'est une chose qui vous doit extremement satisfaire. J'ai d'abord soupçonné que vous aviez fait ce traité de quelque

Digitized by Google

treaty by some concert with the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo: for though the King my Master has so much reason to be content to see him grant what his Majesty demanded, nevertheless the bad counsel of the Spaniards has put them in a condition to receive your work as the safety of what remained to them of Flanders. I never lamented my absence from the Hague but since I knew you were there. I cannot yet tell what time I shall be obliged to stay here, Monsieur de Lionne having charged me from the King with some orders in this Court, which I have reason to believe will accommodate my affairs. I am strongly persuaded the King my Master will hold to the alternative, Monsieur de Lionne having sent me word that his Majesty was content with what you had done at the Hague; and that, if the manner of it had been a little more obliging, there were nothing more to be desired. These Princes mightily desire the peace upon your conditions; the league of the Rhine is extremely satisfied with it; so that, in all appearance, Spain may do what they please; for this time their country shall be saved, no thanks to them. I would fain know whether you think of going to Aix. I have a great mind to see this negotiation: and I should have nothing to desire, if I were sure to find you there.

I see by this business here, that the peace will be made; or else, that there will be a great war; but I rather think the former. And, if they will

concert avec Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo: car encore que le Roi mon Maître ait tant sujet d'être content de le voir accorder ce qu'il a demandé; néanmoins le mechant conseil des Espagnols les a mis en état de recevoir vôtre ouvrage comme le salut de ce qui leur restera aux Païs-Bas. Je n'avois point regretté mon absence de la Haye que depuis que je sai que vous y êtes: je ne saurois encore savoir le tems que je serai obligé de demeurer ici; Monsieur de Lionne m'ayant chargé de la part du Roi de quelques ordres en cette Cour, tant que j'ai lieu de croire que cela accommodera mes affaires. C'est pourtant un chemin qui me peut conduire à cette fin: je suis très fortement persuadé que le Roi mon Maître se tiendra à l'alternative. Monsieur de Lionne m'a mandé que sa Majesté étoit contente de ce que vous aviez fait à la Haye: & que si la façon en eut été un peu plus obligéante, il n'y auroit eu rien à desirer. Ces Princes ici souhaitent fort la paix aux conditions que vous la voulez faire: la ligue du Rhin en est très satisfaite, ainsi selon les apparences les Espagnols auront beau faire, on sauvera leur païs en dépit d'eux pour cette fois ici. Je voudrois bien savoir si vous croyez aller à Aix; j'ai fort envie de voir cette negociation, & je n'aurois rien à desirer si je savois vous y trouver.

Je voi par cette affaire ici, que la paix se fera, ou que se fera une grande guerre; mais tout me fait croire le premier; & si on ne veut point de moi en

Digitized by Google

let me come no more to France, it is there (at Aix) I design to reside for the rest of my life. I doubt not but they will let me take one turn to Paris to see if I can make my peace; but I fear they will raise insupportable difficulties.

I desire you to believe me always, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant.

It may be I shall see you at the Hague sooner than you think.

France, je m'en vai prendre mon parti pour le reste de mes jours. Je ne doute point que l'on ne me laisse faire un tour à Paris pour voir si je pourrois m'accommoder; mais je crains que l'on ne me fasse des difficultés insupportables.

Je vous supplie de me croire toujours, Monsieur, vôtre très humble & très obéissant serviteur.

Je pourrai peut-être vous voir à la Haye plutôt que vous ne pensez.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, Feb. 25, 1668.

Sir,

The bearer hereof delivered me the letter you did me the honour to write me from Antwerp of the 24th instant; wherein I behold with pleasure your zeal and diligence for the advancement of our common affair; as also the good dispositions that your offices have already raised in the mind of the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo, and the appearance of a more satisfactory declaration we shall receive upon the common request to be made him from the King of Great Britain and this State. I delayed not to communicate and deliberate the contents of the said letter, with the States Commissioners deputed upon the subject of our last negotiations; and we hope you will judge as we do, that it is absolutely necessary for his Excellency to declare himself without farther delay or reserve, agreeably to what is concluded between England and

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 25 Fevr. 1668.

Monsieur,

Le porteur de celle-ci m'a bien delivré la lettre qu'il vous a plû me faire l'honneur de m'écrire d'Anvers le 24me de ce mois; & j'y ai vû avec agrément le zele & la diligence que vous avez apporté pour l'avancement de nôtre affaire commune; comme aussi les bonnes dispositions que vos offices ont deja fait naître dans l'esprit de Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, & l'apparence d'une declaration plus satisfaisante que nous recevrons sur la priere commune qu'on lui va faire de la part du Roi de la Grande Brétagne & de cet Etat. Je n'ai pas tardé de communiquer & deliberer le contenu de ladite lettre avec les Commissaires des Etats, deputés sur le sujet de nos dernieres negociations; & nous esperons que vous jugerez avec nous qu'il est absolument necessaire que son Excellence se declare sans plus de délai & sans aucune reserve conformement à la dispo-

Digitized by Google

this State, without desiring beforehand any concert more particular than that which is made, signed, and ratified, between us and our Masters: for since the King of France has seen by his last conquests how weak and negligent the Spaniards are, it is to be feared, that, if the Marquis lets the month of March expire without plainly declaring himself as we desire, the King of France may be very glad, after the expiration of the said term, not to be obliged, by virtue of his word given, to make the peace upon the alternative, but may make use of the time and disorder of the Spaniards, to surprise Luxemburg, and a great part of what remains to the King of Spain in the Netherlands; and to order his affairs afterwards as occurrences shall happen. The States General are obliged and entirely resolved, in case of refusal from the King of France, or any evasions from that side, after it has been insinuated to him that the Marquis has accepted either part of the alternative, to execute, in the most vigorous manner possible, what is contained in our third separate article; and by consequence, jointly with England, to break into open war against France, to act in concert, not only for defence of the Netherlands, but, also, and above all, to attack and infest France by sea, by descents, invasions into the country, and all other ways. But because it may be pre-supposed in public, that the King of France, after having given his word to the States,

sition de ce qui est conclu entre l'Angleterre & cet Etat, sans desirer au préamble aucun concert plus particulier que celui qui est fait, signé, & ratifié entre nous & par nos Maîtres. Car puisque le Roi de France a vû par les derniers progrès, comme les Espagnols sont foibles & negligens; il est à apprehender que si Monsieur le Marquis laisse écouler le mois de Mars sans s'être declaré nettement, comme nous le desirons, le Roi de France ne soit très aise de n'être pas obligé après l'expiration en vertu de sa parole donnée, de faire la paix sur l'alternative; & qu'il ne se serve encore du tems & du desordre des Espagnols pour surprendre en même façon le Luxembourg, & une grande partie de ce qui reste au Roi d'Espagne dans le Païs-Bas; & pour se regler par après selon les occurrences. Les Etats Généraux se trouvent obligés & entierement resolus, au cas de réfus du Roi de France, ou des échappatoires recherchés de son côté, après qu'on lui aura insinué que Monsieur le Marquis ait accepté l'une ou l'autre partie de l'alternative, d'executer en la maniére la plus vigoureuse que faire se pourra, le contenu du troisieme de nos articles séparés; par consequent de rompre conjointement avec l'Angleterre en guerre ouverte contre la France, d'agir de concert non seulement pour la defense du Païs-Bas; mais aussi & surtout d'attaquer & incommoder la France de leurs forces maritimes; & même par des descentes, ou invasions dans le païs, & en toute autre ma-

Digitized by Google

and afterwards by a circular letter, not only to the King of Great Britain and the said States, but also to many Princes of Germany, will not break a promise so solemnly made; we cannot by any means enter into concert and league with Spain, before this case effectually arrives; and we think that such a league and concert made before the season, would be likely indeed to produce the effect the Marquis desires, but which is far from his Majesty of England's aim, or that of the States; for you cannot but know, that his Excellency would prefer the continuance of the war with our assistance, to the conclusion of the peace upon the alternative; and his Majesty, as well as the States, prefers this peace before the continuance of a war, whereof they must bear all the costs, and all the profit be to the King of Spain. Now, we comprehend very well, that such a concert and such a league as his Excellency desires, would put the King of France upon an absolute necessity of continuing the war; because, if he should comply after such a league made with his enemies, it would appear publicly, that he was obliged to it by this bond, and consequently by his enemies themselves. And therefore the matter is judiciously enough proposed by his Excellency for arriving at his end; but, since it would make us miss of ours, we hope you will put the Marquis off it, and make him quit all hopes of engaging us, by the force of his great

nière: mais d'autant qu'il faut presupposer publiquement, que le Roi de France, après avoir donné sa parole par une lettre circulaire, non seulement au Roi de la Grande Brétagne & aux dits Etats, mais aussi à plusieurs Princes d'Allemagne, ne voudra pas manquer à une promesse si solemnellement donnée; nous ne pourrions en aucune façon entrer en concert & ligue avec l'Espagne, avant que ce cas soit effectivement arrivé: & nous jugeons qu'un tel concert & une telle ligue faite devant la saison, seroit fort capable de produire l'effet que Monsieur le Marquis souhaite, mais qui est tout à fait éloigné du but de sa Majesté de la Grande Brétagne, & de leurs Hautes Puissances; car il ne peut vous être inconnu que son Excellence preferreroit la continuation de la guerre avec nos secours, à la conclusion de la paix sur l'alternative. Et sa Majesté aussi bien que leurs Hautes Puissances preferent cette paix à la continuation d'une guerre dont ils seroient obligés de porter toutes les depenses, & dont tout le profit seroit pour le Roi d'Espagne. Or, nous comprennons fort bien qu'un tel concert & une telle ligue que son Excellence desire, mettroit le Roi de France dans une necessité absolue de continuer la guerre; d'autant que se rendant après une telle ligue faite avec ses ennemis, il paroîtroit publiquement qu'il y fût obligé par cette liaison, & par consequent par ses ennemis mêmes; & partant l'affaire est judicieusement proposée par son Excellence pour parvenir à son

Digitized by Google

genius, to enter of our own accord, where we have no mind to come but upon a fatal necessity. I think his Excellency does wrong to the King of Great Britain and the States, in not trusting their affection and their honour, which are concerned, as well as their interest, after the alliance and the peace they have already made together: but if, after his Excellency has accepted our propositions, the King of France shall happen to draw back or seek evasions, then the King of Great Britain and the States General entering into the party, and even into a rupture with France, it will be very just and proper to concert with his Excellency after what manner to act in the territory of the King his Master; and yet in the mean while not omit entering into action without the least loss of time. Therefore it will be no way necessary for me to be upon our frontiers towards the end proposed by his Excellency, which besides will be wholly impossible for me; much less to send any body from hence to Brussels, since the States Deputies, who are there at present, are the same we should chuse for the end desired: for I assure you I can name no body in whom the States as well as I in particular can have greater confidence, whereof I do not doubt but they will give you proofs, as well as of their sincerity and good conduct. I desire you therefore, Sir, to use them with as much freedom as me, and I will engage they shall do the same by

but; mais puisque elle nous feroit perdre le nôtre, nous esperons que vous en detournerez Monsieur le Marquis, & que vous lui ferez perdre toute esperance de ne pouvoir pas par son grande genie même nous engager comme par gayeté de cœur, où nous ne voulons venir qu'au cas d'une fatale necessité. Il me semble que son Excellence feroit tort au Roi de la Grande Brétagne, & aux Etats Géneraux, de ne se fier pas à leur affection & à leur honneur, dont il y va si bien que de leur interêt, après la liaison & le pas qu'ils ont fait dejà ensemble. Mais si après qu'elle aura accepté nos propositions, le Roi de France vient à reculer, ou à chercher des échappatoires; alors le Roi de la Grande Brétagne, & les Etats Géneraux, entrant dans le parti, & même en rupture avec la France, il sera très à propos que l'on concerte avec son Excellence la manière dont on agira dans le territoire du Roi son Maître; & que pourtant l'on ne laisse pas cependant d'entrer en action sans la moindre perte de tems. Il ne sera donc nullement necessaire que je me trouve sur nos frontiers pour la fin proposée par son Excellence, ce que d'ailleurs me seroit tout à fait impossible; & encore bien moins l'on envoye quelqu'un d'ici à Bruxelles, d'autant que les Deputés des Etats qui s'y trouvent presentement, sont ceux-là même que l'on pourroit choisir pour la fin desirée; vous pouvant assurer que je ne pouvois nommer personne, en qui l'Etat aussi bien que moi en particulier, pu-

Digitized by Google

you. And, if you have been at all satisfied with my manner of transacting, as I have been extremely with yours, that you will also be satisfied with that of the said Deputies.

issent avoir plus de confiance, dont ils vous doneront sans doute des preuves, aussi bien que de leur integrité & de leur bonne conduite. Je vous supplie donc, Monsieur, d'user avec eux de la même franchise, dont vous avez usé envers moi, & je vous demeure garand qu' eux de leur côté en useront de même: & si vous avez été en quelque façon satisfait de ma manière d'agir, comme je l'ai été de la vôtre, que vous le serez tout à fait de celle desdits Deputés de l'Etat.

For the rest, we approve extremely the diligence you make on all sides in sending to the Ministers of the King of England, and the States now at Paris: and from your common offices we promise to ourselves an universal peace in Christendom, to the great advantage of the public, and the eternal glory of yourselves, which no man desires more than he who is, Sir, your most humble and most affectionate servant.

Au reste, nous approuvons fort les diligences que vous ferez de part & d'autre directement au Ministres du Roi de la Grande Bretagne & du cet Etat à Paris; & nous nous promettons de vos offices communs la paix universelle de la Chrétienté, au grand profit du public, & à la gloire éternelle de vos personnes: laquelle vous souhaite avec autant d'affection que personne du monde, celui qui est, & qui demeurera à jamais, Monsieur, vôtre très humble & très affectionné serviteur.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, March 5,
Sir, 1668.

It is with great satisfaction that I have learned from your dispatch of the 2d instant, and by that of the Deputies of this State, the provisional success it has pleased God to grant to your cares and application to the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo; and I doubt not but the conduct you have used to dispose those of the Council of State of

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 5 Mars,
Monsieur, 1668.

C'a été avec beaucoup de satisfaction que j'ai appris par vôtre depêche du 2d de ce mois, & par celle de Messieurs les Deputés de l'Etat, le succès provisionnel qu'il a plû au bon Dieu d'octroyer à vos soins & à vôtre direction auprès du Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo; & je ne doute point que la conduite que vous avez tenue pour disposer ceux

Digitized by Google

this country to conform to his Excellency's opinion, will be applauded by them. I hope, before the receipt of this, you will have received from his Excellency a declaration in form, and in writing, couched in clear and satisfactory terms, without any ambiguity or obscurity; and, in short, such as will leave no occasion or pretext to France to find any thing to object against, but what shall put them to a necessity of declaring themselves plainly on their side, upon the conditions and articles of our convention, and shall put us out of doubt and trouble of what we have to do. For myself, I shall endeavour all I can, that this State shall be put in a posture of entering vigorously and effectually upon the defence of Flanders, in case, after a plain and satisfactory answer from his Excellency, the King of France shall leave us any apprehensions of his endeavouring to make farther progresses in this country, which we cannot suppose without the prejudice of suspecting that the said King will falsify his word given, and the promise so solemnly made by his public and circular letters; which God forbid, and which however common prudence should make us suppose to be possible, that we might not neglect the means, whereof we have so often discoursed, and upon which the States have given order to their Ambassadors in England, to concert more particularly with the King

du Conseil d'Etat de ce païs à se conformer au sentiment de son Excellence, ne produise leur applaudissement. J'espère que devant que celle-ci vous sera rendue, vous aurez reçu de son Excellence une declaration, dans les formes & par écrit, couchée en termes clairs & satisfaisants, sans aucune ambiguité ou obscurité; & enfin telle qui ne laisse aucune occasion ni même aucun pretexte à la France d'y trouver quelque chose à rédire; mais qui la mette en necessité de se declarer aussi de son côté nettement sur les conditions & articles de nôtre convention, & nous hors de doute & d'embarras de ce que nous avons à faire. Quant à moi, je ne manquerai pas de tenir la main à ce que l'Etat se mette tout à fait en posture de pouvoir accourir vigoureusement & efficacement à la defense du Païs-Bas en cas qu'après une declaration nette & satisfaisante de son Excellence, le Roi de France nous laisse encore de l'apprehension de plus grands progrès que sa Majesté voudroit tâcher de faire dans le même païs; ce que nous ne pouvons pas presupposer sans être préoccupé d'un soupçon que ledit Roi voudroit bien fausser sa parole donnée, & sa promesse si solemnellement faite par des lettres publiques & circulaires: ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise; & ce que pourtant la prudence veut que nous nous figurions comme possible, pour ne negliger pas les moyens dont nous nous sommes bien souvent entretenus, & sur lesquels les Etats ont donné ordre à leurs Ambassadeurs en Angle-

Digitized by Google

of Great Britain and his Ministers.

You have farther obliged me by not giving a copy of my foregoing dispatch to the Marquis, since in my opinion he might have made use of it to provoke and anger the King of France, and oblige him, as it were in point of honour, to be obstinate in the war against the desire and intention of the King of England and the States; but by giving his Excellency so much part therein, as to read to him our separate articles; that is what I cannot but entirely approve, as being wholly agreeable to my manner of proceeding, as well as your precaution, wherewith you kept the common cause from the danger above-mentioned, in not giving him a copy.

terre de concerter plus particulierement avec le Roi de la Grande Brétagne & ses Ministres.

Vous m'avez encore obligé de n'avoir point donné copie de ma précedente depêche au Marquis; puisque à mon jugement, on auroit pû s'en servir pour aigrir & picquer le Roi de France, & pour l'obliger en quelque façon, par point d'honneur, à s'opiniatrer dans la guerre contre le but & souhait du Roi de la Grande Brétagne, & des Etats Généraux. Mais que vous ayez donné part à son Excellence par lecture de nos articles séparés, c'est ce que je ne puis qu' approuver entierement, comme étant fort conforme à ma manière d'agir & de proceder; aussi bien que la precaution dont vous avez garanti la cause commune du sudit danger, en ne lui en ayant point donné copie.

For the rest, I refer myself to what the Deputies of the States shall have already told you upon the contents of your former dispatch, and to what they shall communicate to you, from time to time, of the intentions of their High Mightinesses, and shall ever remain what I am with passion, Sir, your most affectionate and humble servant.

Au reste, je me remets à ce que Messieurs les Deputés de l'Etat vous auront déja dit & temoigné sur le contenu de vôtre depêche précedente, & à ce qu'ils vous communiqueront de tems en tems de l'intention de leurs Hautes Puissances: & demeurerai à jamais celui qui suis avec passion, Monsieur, vôtre très affectionné & très humble serviteur.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, March 16, 1668.

Sir,

YOUR dispatch of the 11th instant did not come to my hands till the 14th at noon, the cou-

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 16 *Mars*, 1668.

Monsieur,

Vôtre depêche du 11*me de ce mois ne m'a été rendue que le* 14*me après midi; le courier qui*

Digitized by Google

rier who brought it having not been dismissed from Brussels till the 13th.

I was very glad to see you had at last disposed the Marquis to dispatch the Baron of Bergeyck for Aix la Chapelle, being very much persuaded that it imports us mightily to have a quick conclusion of the peace, or else to see clearly into the most inward dispositions of the King of France, as well as those of the Spanish Court; and that all delay is very prejudicial to our intentions, and to the interests of Spain. And, that we may be neither surprised nor abused on either side, I think, in the present conjuncture, two things are absolutely necessary: the first is, that England and this State will be furnished by sea and land; and the other, that we take away, not only all lawful cause, but also, as much as possible, all pretext, from France to delay or avoid the concluding and signing the treaty of peace.

To satisfy on our side for the first point, we are resolved, as soon as the season will permit, to send into the field all our cavalry, which consists of 7300 horse, and provisionally 25 regiments of our foot, for which the chief rendezvous shall be at Bergen-op-zoom, or thereabouts; from whence there will be a convenient march in a few days into most part of the King of Spain's places in the Netherlands.

l'a apportée, n'ayant été expedié & parti de Bruxelles que le 13me.

J'y ai été fort aise de voir que vous aviez enfin disposé Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo à depêcher le Baron de Bergeyck promptement vers Aix la Chapelle; étant très persuadé qu'il nous importe d'avoir une prompte conclusion de la paix, ou de voir clair dans les intentions les plus interieures du Roi de France, aussi bien que dans celles de la cour d'Espagne; & que tout delai est fort prejudiciable à nos intentions & aux interêts de l'Espagne: & afin que nous ne puissions pas être surpris ou abusés de côté ou d'autre, je juge qu'en la conjoncture presente deux choses nous sont absolument necessaires: dont la premiere est que l'Angleterre & cet Etat soient bien armés par mer & par terre; & l'autre qu'on ôte non seulement toute cause legitime, mais aussi tant que faire se pourra, tout pretexte à la France de delaïer ou d'esquiver la conclusion & la signature du traité de paix.

Pour satisfaire de notre côté au premier point, nous sommes resolus de mettre en campagne, aussitôt que la saison le pourra permettre, toute notre cavalerie, qui consiste en sept mille & trois cens chevaux, & provisionnellement vingt cinq regimens de notre infanterie, pour lequel le principal rendezvous sera à Bergopzoom & aux environs; place fort commode pour pouvoir de là nous jetter en peu de tems dans la plûpart des places du Roi d'Espagne au Païs-Bas.

Digitized by Google

We have also given order for equipping 48 ships of war above the number commonly used for guard and convoy; and the States have already given order to their Ambassadors in England, to concert with the King of Great Britain and his Ministers, upon the number of ships and men that each party shall be obliged to have ready, and in what time. Besides, the Deputies of the States have this day finally agreed with the Ministers of the Dukes of Brunswick and Lunebourg, to bring into the service of this State three regiments of horse, and 3000 foot, and I hope the treaty will be signed to-morrow, or the next day. And, farther, they are going here to augment the old militia by new levies, to the number of 12,000 men, with the troops of the said Dukes, which are to enter into the service of the State: and I will not fail of helping what I can to the accomplishing of all this, as soon as it can be done by the constitution of the government. And, if you approve all these preparations and diligence, as I hope you will, since they seem very necessary, and no way offensive, since he who really desires the peace, will find in it his support and advantage; and that these forces shall not be employed till the last necessity against him, that by his wilfulness would disappoint Christendom of the benefit of it; I desire you, by your letters, to make the exhortations necessary to the King of England and his Ministers, that

Aussi avons-nous donné ordre pour l'équipage de quarante & huit vaisseaux de guerre par dessus le nombre qui sert pour la garde & l'escorte ordinaire; & il y a dejà quelque tems que les Etats ont donné ordre à leurs Ambassadeurs en Angleterre de concerter avec le Roi de la Grande Brétagne & ses Ministres sur le nombre & la quantité des vaisseaux & hommes, que chacun s'obligeroit d'avoir tout prêt & en quel tems. Outre cela les Deputés de l'Etat sont tombés aujourd'hui finalement d'accord avec les Ministres des Ducs de Bronswich & de Lunebourg, pour faire passer au service de cet Etat trois regimens de cavalerie, & trois mille hommes à pied; & j'espere que le traité en pourra être signé demain, ou après demain; & au surplus va-t-on ici encore augmenter la vieille milice par de nouvelles levées jusques au nombre de douze mille hommes, y compris les troupes desdits Ducs qui passeront au service de cet Etat: & je ne manquerai pas de tenir la main, & de presser autant qu'il me sera possible que tout ce que dessus ait son accomplissement le plûtôt qu'il se pourra faire selon la constitution de ce gouvernment. Et si vous approuvez toutes ces preparations & diligences, comme je l'espere, & qu'elles me semblent fort necessaires & nullement offençantes; d'autant que celui qui voudra la paix réellement, y trouvera son appui & son avantage; & que leur emploi sera de la derniere necessité contre celui qui par son opiniatreté en voudroit frustrer la Chrêtienté; je vous supplie de faire

Digitized by Google

they may not fail on that side to make the like preparations and diligence.

les exhortations necessaires par vos lettres au Roi de la Grande Brétagne & à ses Ministres, afin que de ce côté-là on ne manque pas de faire de semblables preparatifs & les même diligences.

As to the second point, I think it imports much that the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo should explain himself upon which of the two conditions proposed by the alternative, he pretends to have accepted; wherein there seems the less difficulty, since his Excellency will, without doubt, explain himself for the abandoning the places the King of France has conquered the last campaign, with their dependencies. But then I think it will be our interest and duty to endeavour that some reasonable exchange be made, for places far in the heart of Flanders, against places lately taken in the Franche Compté, or others that shall be more for the advantage of France and less for the inconvenience of Spain and us.

Quant au second point, je croi qu'il importe grandement que Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo s'explique, laquelle des deux conditions proposées par l'alternative il entend avoir accepté: en quoi il me semble tant moins de difficulté, que c'est sans contredit que son Excellence s'expliquera pour l'abandonement des places que le Roi de France a conquis la campagne passée, avec leurs dependences: mais ce sera, ce me semble, alors de nôtre interêt & de nôtre devoir de travailler puissamment afin que quelque échange raisonable se puisse faire des places les plus avancées en Flandre, contre des places nouvellement occupées dans la Franche-Compté, ou autres qui seront plus en la bienséance de la France, & moins à l'incommodité de l'Espagne & de nous autres.

Besides, to take all pretext from France which they may pretend to make upon a defect of powers in the said Marquis, either in the principal matter, or by default of a clause of substitution, or otherwise; I think it will be very necessary that the King of Great Britain and the States General shall be obliged to ratify and accomplish whatever shall be treated and concluded at Aix; and shall promise in the firmest manner the King of France can desire, to oblige Spain in case of ne-

De plus, pour ôter à la France tout pretexte dont elle se pourroit servir à raison qu'il pourroit y avoir quelque manquement au pouvoir dudit Marquis, ou en la matiere principale, ou par defaut de la clause de substitution, ou autrement; il me semble qu'il sera très necessaire que la Roi de la Grande Brétagne & les Etats Géneraux se fâssent fort de la ratification & de l'accomplissement de tout ce qui sera traité & conclu à Aix; & promettent en la manière la plus forte que le Roi de France

Digitized by Google

cessity to the said ratification and accomplishment, by all their forces both by sea and land: and, in short, that in every occurrence they will do very judiciously to obviate all exceptions and delays which can be brought to the prejudice of the peace. But farther, when we shall have brought the King of France to an absolute necessity of either finally concluding or discovering his intention contrary to the peace: in that case, upon the first step France shall make to frustrate Christendom of such a general good, the King of Great Britain and the States shall, without farther delay, bring all their forces by sea and land, not only for defence of the Spaniards, but also for the intent specified in the third of our separate articles, and more amply deduced in my dispatch of the 25th of February last.

le pourra desirer, d'obliger en cas de besoin l'Espagne à ladite ratification, & au dit accomplissement, de toutes leurs forces par mer & par terre: & enfin, qu'en toute autre occurrence on fera très judicieusement d'obvier à toutes les exceptions & délais qui pourroient être apportés au prejudice de la paix. Mais aussi quand on aura mis par là le Roi de France dans une necessité absolue de proceder outre à la conclusion finale, ou de decouvrir son intention contraire à la paix; qu'alors à la premiere demarche que la France feroit pour frustrer la Chrêtienté d'un bien si salutaire, le Roi de la Grande Brétagne & les Etats Géneraux feroient agir incontinent, & sans marchander, toutes leurs forces par mer & par terre, non seulement pour la defense des Espagnols, mais aussi pour la fin specifiée au troisieme de nos articles séparés, & plus amplement deduite en ma depêche du 25 Fevrier passé.

For the rest, if you have received the King of Great Britain's ratification upon our last marine treaty, I shall wait till you think proper to exchange it; upon which I shall endeavour to conform the States to your desire; whether our ratification shall be sent to our Commissioners now with you; or whether you will please to send your secretary or your brother here to the Hague; or whether you know any way will please you better: for in this and every other occurrence I shall endeavour to follow your desires, and second your intentions, as being

Au reste, j'attendrai de vos nouvelles si vous avez reçu la ratification du Roi de la Grande Brétagne sur nôtre dernier traité de marine, que vous jugerez à propos que l'on en fasse l'échange; sur quoi je tacherai de disposer les Etats à se conformer à vôtre desir; soit que l'on envoi nôtre ratification és mains de nos commissaires qui se trouvent presentement auprès de vous; soit que vous envoyez votre secretaire, ou bien Monsieur votre frere ici à la Haye; ou que vous sachiez encore quelque autre façon qui soit plus à vôtre goût: car, & en cela, & en toute autre

Digitized by Google

not by form of compliment, but very really, Sir, your, &c.

occurrence, je tacherai de suivre vos desirs, & de seconder vos intentions, comme étant non par forme de compliment, mais fort réellement, Monsieur, vôtre, &c.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, March 25, 1668.

Sir,

I RECEIVED the honour of yours of the 25th instant, upon which I will tell you in few words, that I am wholly of your opinion; as well for what regards the King of France's disposition to carry on the war, the insufficiency of his offer to restore all he may conquer between the first of April and the fifteenth of May, the strained exceptions against the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo's powers, and his acceptation of the alternative; as chiefly for what regards the forces to be raised with all possible readiness, and the manner by which we ought to proceed to the defence of the Netherlands, as soon as the King of France shall begin to move against them. The States are every day more confirmed in the same sentiments, as their actions declare, by marching an army with all speed to Bergen-op-zoom, and by sending an express to the King of Great Britain with intelligence, that they are of opinion, that, in order to satisfy the King of France upon the scruples proposed in Monsieur de Lionne's paper of the 19th instant, with promises and assurances sufficient, we must let him know discreetly, and yet positively, that we

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 25 Mars, 1668.

Monsieur,

J'ai bien reçû la lettre dont il vous a plû m'honorer du 25me de ce mois, surquoi je vous dirai en peu de mots que je suis tout à fait de votre opinion, tant à l'égard de la disposition du Roi de France à continuer la guerre, l'insuffisance de l'offre de vouloir restituer tout ce qu'il pourroit conquerir entre le premier d'Avril & le 15me Mai; les exceptions recherchées contre les pouvoirs du Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, & contre son acceptation de l'alternative; que principalement & sur tout à l'égard de l'armement que l'on devroit avancer avec toute la promptitude possible, & de la manière de laquelle on devra accourir à la defense du Païs-Bas, dès que le Roi de France commencera à se remuër pour l'accabler. Les Etats ont dejà approuvé & confirmé encore de jour en jour les mêmes sentimens par leurs actions; faisant marcher en toute diligence une armée aux environs de Bergopzoom, & ayant envoyé leur avis par un exprès au Roi de la Grande Brétagne, qu'ils sont d'opinion qu'aussi bien que de satisfaire au Roi de France sur les scrupules proposés dans l'écrit du Sieur de Lionne du 19me de ce mois, avec des assurances & promesses suffisants, il faudra lui

Digitized by Google

think his generosity will not suffer him to ruin a State, or a Minister of Spain, whom the King of England and the States General have obliged, at his request, to accept the conditions prescribed, with a formal assurance, that by that means he should free himself from all the danger of the war. And, at least, that the honour and good faith of the King of Great Britain and the States cannot suffer such a State or Minister to be injured without lending him their service and assistance. And by every body's disposition here I am assured that, as soon as the agreement is concluded, we shall march to the assistance of the Netherlands, upon the first step France shall make to attack them, if the King of England will do the like. But, to acquit our consciences, and let the world see the justice of our proceeding; I am entirely of opinion we must make all advances, and give all due assurances to France, to oblige them to the peace. Upon which, with many other particulars, I refer you to the Deputies of the States to communicate to you; having not time at present to enlarge farther, but only to repeat in one word, that I am truly, Sir, your, &c.

faire savoir discretement, & néanmoins bien positivement, que nous jugeons que sa generosité ne pourra pas permettre qu'il accable un Etat ou un Ministre d'Espagne, que le Roi d'Angleterre & les Etats Generaux ont obligé à sa requisition d'accepter les conditions prescrites, avec une assurance formelle que par là il se delivreroit de tout danger de la guerre: & qu'au moins l'honneur & la bonne foi du Roi de la Grande Bretagne & des Etats ne pourra pas souffrir qu'on accable un tel Etat ou un tel Ministre, sans lui prêter leurs services & assistances: & je ne vois point de disposition ici, qui ne m'assure que l'oppignoration étant conclue, on marchera au secours des Païs-Bas dès la premiere demarche que le Roi de France fera pour l'attaquer, si le Roi de la Grande Brétagne en veut faire autant. Mais pour nous satisfaire en bonne conscience, & pour faire voir à tout le monde la justice de notre procédé, je suis entierement d'opinion qu'il faudra faire toutes les avances, & donner toutes les assurances requises à la France, pour parvenir, & pour l'obliger à la paix. Surquoi, comme aussi sur plusieurs autres particularités, je me remets à ce que les Deputés de l'Etat vous communiqueront plus en détail, n'ayant pas de tems de m'étendre ici plus amplement, mais seulement pour repeter en un mot que je suis très veritablement, Monsieur, vôtre, &c.

Digitized by Google

From Monsieur De Witt.

Hague, March 4,
Sir, 1668.

I COULD not immediately answer yours of the 2d instant, by reason of a fever I got by a great cold last night; but towards noon the fever lessening, gives me leave at present to tell you, that, though it is now some days since Monsieur Beverning's departure for Aix la Chapelle, yet I do not see how in the present conjuncture of affairs it should be more necessary for you to reside in that city than at Brussels; but, on the contrary, that the affair is now reduced to such a point, that the business which carried you to Aix, ought to be treated and finished in a few days, in the place where you are, and in the Netherlands; and I think the King of England's Ministers, and those of the States at Paris, have negotiated with address in procuring us an instrument, which in a few days will put us in a clear light upon what we are finally to resolve and to do; if the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo seconds us, as we hope and expect from his prudence, and from the visible interest of his Master, which obliges him to it. I speak of the project of the treaty drawn upon the foot of the alternative, and concerted between the said Ministers of our Masters at Paris, and the Commissioners of the King of France, whereof, I am sure, you have received a copy from Sir John Trevor. I think this project gives us a certain

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 4 Mars,
Monsieur, 1668.

Un grand rheume qui m'a suscité une fiévre la nuit passée, a été cause que je n'ai pas pû vous répondre d'abord à vôtre lettre du 2d de ce mois: mais vers le midi la fiévre étant beaucoup diminuée, me laisse presentement la faculté de vous dire, que quoiqu'il y a dejà quelque jours que Monsieur de Beverning est parti pour se rendre à Aix la Chapelle, je ne voi pas pourtant que dans la conjoncture presente des affaires vôtre séjour soit plus necessaire au dit lieu qu' à Bruxelles; mais que tout au contraire, l'affaire est presentement réduite à un point, que ce, pour quoi vous vous fussiez transporté à Aix, se pourra & se devra traiter & achever en peu de jours, au lieu où vous êtes & au Païs-Bas: & il me semble que Messieurs les Ministres du Roi de la Grande Brétagne & des Etats à Paris, ont negocié adroitement de nous avoir sû procurer un instrument qui nous mettra en peu de jours dans une clarté entiere pour résoudre finalement ce que nous aurons à faire; si le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo nous y seconde, comme nous l'esperons & l'attendons de sa prudence & de l'interêt visible de son Maître qui l'y oblige. Je parle du projet de traité dressé sur le pié de l'alternative & concerté entre lesdits Ministres de nos Maîtres à Paris & les Commissaires du Roi de France, dont je m'assure, que vous aurez reçû copie de la part de Monsieur Trevor. Il me semble que ce

Digitized by Google

way of obtaining the peace, or else a war, wherein all the Princes and States of Christendom will support us, or at least commend our conduct and proceeding. And I think we must proceed in it after this manner: I suppose before-hand that you and our Deputies with you, will not be at much pains to dispose the Marquis to send immediately a power to Monsieur Beuningen and Sir John Trevor, to sign in his (the Marquis's) name, and from the King his Master, the treaty with the King of France's Commissioners, agreeable to the project above-mentioned, which I find entirely conformable to our agreement and secret articles, as Monsieur Beuningen tells us, that he and Sir John Trevor made the same judgment of it. Unless his Excellency would rather sign the said treaty himself, and receive the exchange of it signed by the King of France. In which case I think there may be only writ on the top of the project, 'A treaty of peace between the Kings of * Spain and France, to prevent disputing upon the terms of the preface;' and, beneath, to add the date. This being done, the aforesaid Ministers at Paris must, in my opinion, offer the King of France to sign in the King of Spain's name, or (in case his Excellency thinks fit to sign himself) to exchange the treaty signed; on condition that France will consent to a reasonable time to procure the

* And in the other instrument, of France and Spain.

*projet nous donne en main un moyen assuré pour avoir la paix, ou une guerre dans laquelle tous les Princes & Etats de la Chrêtienté nous appuyeront, ou au moins louëront nôtre procedé & nôtre conduite. Et voici comme quoi, à mon avis, nous y pourrions proceder. Je présuppose que vous & Messieurs nos Deputés qui se trouvent auprès de vous, n'auront pas beaucoup de peine à disposer Monsieur le Marquis d'envoyer incontinent un pouvoir à Messieurs van Beuningen & Trevor, pour signer en son nom, & de la part du Roi son Maître, le traité avec les Commissaires du Roi de France, conformement au projet susdit que je trouve entierement conforme à nôtre convention & à nos articles secrets; ainsi que le Sieur van Beuningen nous mande aussi, que lui & Monsieur Trevor en ont rendu ce même jugement. Si ce n'est que son Excellence aime mieux de signer lui-même ledit traité, & d'en recevoir un en échange signé de la part du Roi de France, au quel cas il me semble que l'on n'auroit qu'à mettre dessus le projet, Traité de paix entre les Rois d'Espagne * & de France; pour ne disputer pas sur les termes de la préface; & au bas d'ajoûter la date. Cela étant fait, il faudra, à mon jugement, que lesdits Ministres à Paris offrent au Roi de France de signer, au nom du Roi d'Espagne, ou bien d'échanger le traité signé, si son Excellence ait trouvé bon de signer lui même; moyen-*

* *Et en l'autre instrument, de France & d'Espagne.*

Digitized by Google

ratification from the Queen of Spain; and, above all, the continuance of the cessation of arms during the time agreed. I see that, for granting this term a little more to the humour of France, you will be more liberal and complaisant than I: for, whereas you are satisfied with the term till the 15th of May already proposed by Monsieur de Ruvigny, I think reason and decency should oblige to take till the end of May. And, if the King of France refuses either to sign on his side, or to grant the said term with the cessation of arms, I should not stick to declare immediately for Spain, and act by sea and land in conformity to our third separate article.

And since it cannot enter into a reasonable man's mind, that the Queen of Spain can be so blind as not to ratify the said treaty, by which a * whole province is restored, and a minor King delivered from being engaged in a second war with us and England; I should not be hard at granting the King of France whatever he can demand with any appearance of reason, in a case that will never arrive; chiefly, because many Princes of Germany will then declare on our side, who might else (blinded by the appearances of reason in Monsieur de Lionne's letter of the 19th past) abandon us entirely. The King of Sweden, or his Minister at London, do, I think, stretch the cord too far,

* The County of Burgundy.

nant que la France accorde un terme raisonable pour procurer la ratification de la Reine d'Espagne, & sur tout la continuation de la cessation d'armes pendant ce terme un peu au gré de la France, vous seriez plus liberal ou complaisant que moi; car au lieu que vous vous contenteriez du terme de 15me de Mai ci-devant proposé par Monsieur de Ruvigny, il me semble que la raison & la bienséance nous obligeroient bien de prendre jusques au dernier jour de Mai: & si le Roi de France vient à refuser ou la signature de son côté, ou le terme avec la cessation d'armes, je ne hesiterois point à nous declarer d'abord sans marchander, pour l'Espagne, & agir par mer & par terre en conformité du 3me de nos articles separés.

*Et comme il ne peut tomber dans l'esprit d'une homme raisonable, que la Reine d'Espagne pourroit être si aveugle que de ne ratifier point le dit traité que lui fait rendre une * Province entiere, & qui delivre un Roi mineur d'un second accablement de l'Angleterre & de cet Etat; je ne serois nullement chiche à accorder au Roi de France tout ce qu'il pourroit demander avec quelque apparence de raison, dans un cas qui n'écherra pas. Principalement parce que plusieurs Princes d'Allemagne alors se declareront de notre parti, qui sans cela, aveuglés par les apparences du raisonnement compris dans la lettre du Monsieur de Lionne du 19me du mois passé, nous abandonneroient entierement. Le Roi de Suede, ou son*

* *La Comté de Burgogne.*

Digitized by Google

and he will break it if he does not yield a little. However, we have last Wednesday sent such orders to our Ambassadors, that I doubt not a good success of this negotiation.

For the other points of your letter, I must refer myself to what you can learn from our Deputies and his Excellency, by advices from the Ambassador Don Estevan de Gamarra; therefore, I shall conclude, remaining, Sir, your, &c.

Ministre à Londres, me semble trop tendre la corde; & il la rompra s'il ne se met un peu à la raison: néanmoins nous avons encore Vendredi passé envoyé tels ordres à nos Ambassadeurs que je ne doute d'un bon succès de cette negociation.

Quant aux autres points de vôtre lettre, je suis obligé de me remettre à ce que vous pourrez entendre de nos Deputés & de son Excellence par les avis de l'Ambassadeur Don Estevan de Gamarra. C'est pourquoi en finissant je demeurerai comme je suis véritablement, Monsieur, votre, &c.

From the Elector of Mentz.

Mentz, April 12,
My Lord, 1668.

HAVING heard of your Excellency's arrival at Aix la Chapelle, to assist in his Majesty of Great Britain's name at a negotiation of peace between the two Crowns, I could not forbear expressing my joy, and the confidence I have that the intervention and authority of so great a King will give much weight to the affair, and very much facilitate the peace; which employing all my thoughts at present, I have dispatched to the said town of Aix the Baron of Schonborn my nephew, with orders to render all offices from me to your Excellency, and to contribute all he can towards a peace so necessary to the repose of all Christendom. In the mean time I desire your Excellency to be assured, that, as I shall always reckon it an honour to serve the King your

De l'Electeur de Mayence.

A Mayence, 12 Avril,
Monsieur, 1668.

Ayant sû l'arrivée de vôtre Excellence à Aix la Chapelle pour y assister au nom de sa Majesté de la Grande Brétagne à la negociation de la paix entre les deux Couronnes; je n'ai pû m'empêcher de lui témoigner ma joye, & la confiance que j'ai que l'intervention & l'autorité d'un Roy si puissant donnera un poids très grand à l'affaire, & facilitera de beaucoup la conciliation & le retablissement de cette paix: laquelle faisant aujourd'hui tous mes soins, j'ai depêché à ladite ville d'Aix le Baron de Schonborn mon neveu, avec ordre d'offrir & de rendre à votre Excellence, de ma part, tous les offices, & de contribuër de son possible pour parvenir à la fin que l'on s'est proposée, pour obtenir une paix si necessaire au répos de toute la Chrêtienté. Cependant je prie vôtre Excellence d'être

Digitized by Google

Master, so I shall never let pass any occasion of shewing in particular that I am, my Lord, your Excellency's most humble and affectionate servant.

assurée que comme je ferai toujours gloire de servir le Roi son Maître; de même je ne perdrai jamais l'occasion où je pourrai temoigner en mon particulier que se suis, Monsieur, de vôtre Excellence le très humble & très affectionné serviteur.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, March 16, 1668.

Sir,

After having writ to you on the 4th, I find myself honoured by two of yours of the 9th and 14th instant. The Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo's manner of transacting does infinitely displease us; and we believe we have entered enough into his designs, to conclude, that his aim is to delay the signing of the project, and the sending of the powers, till the French begin to be in motion: and in the mean while to sign or send the power desired, and summon us by virtue of a former promise to oppose our arms against those of France, which will then begin to enter into action, and by that means set us into an open war by advance.

However, to give the said Marquis the amplest assurance, and to convince him he is in the wrong, we were willing entirely to agree to your advice, and to authorise our Deputies to pass a promise with you in due form by writing, inserting in it the same words of our third separate article. And I think you have very judiciously considered, that the condition of the promise ought to be, not only the signing of the project

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 16 Mars,

Monsieur, 1668.

Après que je vous ai écrit le 4me je me trouve honoré de vos deux depêches du 9me & 14me de ce mois. La maniere d'agir de Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo nous deplaît infiniment; & nous croyons penetrer assés ses visées, pour conclurre que son but est de delayer signature du projet & l'envoi du pouvoir jusques à ce que les François commencent à se remuër; & de signer en même tems ou d'envoyer le pouvoir desiré, & de nous sommer en vertu d'une promesse préalable d'opposer nos armes contre celles de France qui commenceront alors d'entrer en action, & par ainsi nous mettre en guerre ouverte par provision.

Néanmoins pour donner au dit Marquis une assurance plus ample, & pour achever de le mettre dans le tort, nous avons bien voulu nous conformer entierement à vôtre avis, & autoriser nos Depuiés à passer avec vous la promesse en bonne & dûe forme par écrit; y inserant les mêmes paroles troisieme de nos articles separés; & je juge que vous avez très judicieusement consideré que la condition de la promesse doit être non seulement

Digitized by Google

and powers; but, if after the signing, &c. France refuses either to consent to it, or to continue the suspension of arms, we believe we have great cause to complain of the Marquis, that notwithstanding the solemn promise made by the States General, and delivered to Don Estevan de Gamarra in their resolution of the 5th of this month, he has delayed to sign and dispatch the power; so that, if this had been done at first, we had been already out of all doubt; for either the conclusion of it would have been pursued at Paris with the suspension of arms: or, in case of refusal, England and this State would already act in earnest, and with a good conscience, for Spain.

And I desire you to let his Excellency see as plainly as possible, that, if now after the signing and sending the power to Paris, and before the King of France can be informed of it, he shall receive any disgrace, it is himself he ought to impute it to; for England and this State will not put into his hands the power of involving them in an open war with France, unseasonably, and against their intention clearly expressed in the agreement of the 25th instant; which would have happened if we had left him the liberty to delay the signing or sending his power, till he had provoked the French to move; or, if then, signing or sending the power, he had the right of employing our troops against those of France, before the King of France could have had intelli-

la signature du projet & des pouvoirs; mais si après la signature, &c. la France refuse ou d'y consentir, ou de continuër la suspension d'armes; nous croyons avoir grand sujet de nous plaindre du Sieur Marquis en ce que nonobstant la promesse solenelle, faite par les Etats Generaux, & delivrée à Don Estevan de Gamarra dans leur résolution du 5me de ce mois, il a delayé de signer & de depêcher le pouvoir; d'autant que si cela eut été fait d'abord, nous nous trouverions dejà hors de toute obscurité; car ou la conclusion en auroit été suivie à Paris, avec la suspension d'armes; ou, en cas de réfus, l'Angleterre & cet Etat agiroit dejà de bon cœur & en bonne conscience pour l'Espagne.

Et je vous supplie de faire voir à son Excellence le plus vivement qu'il se pourra faire, que si à cette heure après la signature ou l'envoi du pouvoir vers Paris, & avant qu'on en puisse avoir averti le Roi de France, il reçoive quelque disgrace; que ce sera à soi-même à qui il le devra imputer: car l'Angleterre & cet Etat ne peuvent pas lui donner en main un moyen assuré pour les enveloper mal à propos & contre leur intention clairement exprimée dans la convention du 25me de ce mois dans une guerre ouverte avec la France; ce qui se feroit si on lui laissoit la faculté de delayer signature ou l'envoi de son pouvoir jusques à ce qu'il auroit provoqué les François de se remuër; ou qu'alors signant ou envoyant le pouvoir il eut le droit de faire agir nos troupes contre

Digitized by Google

gence of the said signing or sending of the said power, and by consequence before the said King could have finished the treaty, and continued the suspension of arms.

I hope, and am assured, that after this peace, which is the last the States are capable of making in this conjuncture, the Marquis will not delay a moment the signing and sending of the peace to Paris; but if, contrary to all appearance, he should be capable of doing so, I desire you to let him know, that neither England nor the States can assist one who manifestly refuses, and consequently that he will be abandoned on all sides; and also that we shall find ourselves under a necessity to reduce him, by more effectual means, to accept really and effectually, by signing of the treaty, the alternative he has already accepted by a separate writing. And I even apprehend that, by the delays already passed, the affair is reduced to a point not to be redressed; as in truth we shall find ourselves embarrassed enough, if the King of France be already gone from Paris to his army, before the project signed, or the power be arrived there. I cannot tell by what politic his Excellency desires his conduct should be decried by all men, or that his government should be lost; for, to think us so ill advised, that he can engage us in a war against France, when they on their side are earnest for concluding a peace, is what I cannot sup-

celles de France avant que le Roi de France eut pû avoir nouvelle de ladite signature ou de l'envoi dudit pouvoir, & par consequent avant qu'il eut pû faire achever le traité & continuer la suspension d'armes.

J'espere & je me tiens assuré qu'après ce pas qui est le dernier que les Etats sont capables de faire en cette conjoncture, Monsieur le Marquis ne delayera plus un moment la signature & l'envoi d'un pouvoir vers Paris; mais, si, contre toute apparence, il fût capable de le faire, je vous supplie de lui faire voir comme il faut que ni l'Angleterre ni les Etats ne peuvent pas assister un réfusant manifeste; que par consequent il sera abandonné de tous côtés, & qu'aussi nous nous trouverons necessités de le reduire par des moyens plus efficaces à accepter réellement & en effet, par la signature du traité, l'alternative qu'il a dejà accepté par un écrit séparé. Et j'apprehend même que par les délais dejà passés, l'affaire ne soit reduite à un point pour ne pouvoir pas être redressée: comme en verité nous nous trouverions bien embarassés, si le Roi de France fût dejà parti de Paris vers son armée, avant que le projet signé ou le pouvoir y fût arrivé. Je ne sai pas par quelle politique son Excellence trouve bon de faire décrier sa conduite par tout le monde, & de perdre le païs de son gouvernement; car de nous croir si mal avisés qu'elle nous pourroit engager dans une guerre contre la France, lors qu'elle de son côté veut tout de bon conclurre la paix, c'est que je ne puis pas presupposer: & si elle

Digitized by Google

pose; and, if he thinks France will draw back, or refuse the suspension, then why he would not let it appear publicly to the world by a ready signing on his side; this is what I cannot comprehend.

In the mean time Monsieur Colbert at Aix has loudly made appear the easiness, and even the complaisance, of his Master, by the protestation he has publicly made, that he has order to sign the alternative, without excepting against the preamble of the Marquis's power upon the defect of a faculty to substitute, or upon any other; whereas, on the contrary, the Baron de Bergeyck is not authorised to do any thing at all: and I assure you, the positive advices we receive of it, make every body's head turn: therefore I desire you so much the more to endeavour effectually that the Marquis should finish the affair without any more delay; for, if this last compliance of the States does not satisfy him, I confess to you I shall think no farther, but of some effectual means to reduce him to reason, and of some expedients by which the King of Great Britain and their High Mightinesses may take measures with France for preventing the miseries of the neighbourhood; in which I hope you assist with as much application, according to the intent of our agreement, as I believe you will by all means endeavour to prevent a case so desperate, and so destructive to Spain: and for me I shall remain ever with much passion, Sir, your, &c.

juge que la France reculera ou refusera la suspension, pourquoi elle ne l'ait pas voulu faire paroître publiquement devant tout le monde par une prompte signature de son côté, c'est ce que je ne puis pas comprendre.

Cependant Monsieur Colbert à Aix a fait paroître hautement la facilité, voire la complaisance, du Roi son Maître, par la protestation qu'il fait publiquement, qu'il a ordre de signer l'alternative, sans faire exception sur le préamble du pouvoir du Marquis, sur le défaut de la faculté de substituër, ou autres; là où au contraire Monsieur le Baron de Bergeyck ne se trouve autorisé à rien. Et je vous assure que les avis positifs que nous en recevons, font tourner la tête à un chacun: c'est pourquoi je vous supplie d'autant plus de tenir la main efficacement à ce que Monsieur le Marquis acheve l'affaire sans plus de delai: car si cette derniere complaisance des Etats ne lui satisfait pas, je vous avoue que je ne songerai plus qu'aux moyens efficaces pour le reduire à la raison, & aux expediens, par lesquelles le Roi de la Grande Brétagne & leurs Hautes Puissances se puissent entendre avec la France, pour prevenir les malheurs de son voisinage: en quoi j'espere que vous cooperez avec autant d'application selon l'intention de notre convention, que je me tiens assuré que vous tacherez par toute sorte de moyens de prevenir ce cas desesperé & ruineux pour l'Espagne. Et moi, je demeurerai à jamais avec beaucoup de passion, Monsieur, vôtre très humble serviteur,

Digitized by Google

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, April 27, 1668.

Sir,

You ought to be well satisfied with your whole conduct, since the success so well answers your good intention, and that your work has so excellent an agreement with the foundations you had laid. All Christendom owes you the glory of having first disposed the King of Great Britain's mind to so strict an alliance between his Majesty and this State, for the universal good and peace of Europe. It is upon this principle you have continued to labour with so much application and so successfully with the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo, that it is chiefly to you we are obliged for the good disposition he is in at present, and for the enjoyment of so great an advantage to Christendom as results from it. I speak of it as a thing we possess already, because I see nothing that can hinder us from it; it being likely that the Baron de Bergeyck has already executed the power we have sent him; and that the Court of Madrid, in order to deliver Flanders from its troublesome guests, will no longer defer to ratify the treaty. For the rest, I agree extremely with your sentiments, and am of your opinion, some exchange of places should be negotiated immediately after the signing of the treaty.

A la Haye, 27 Avril, 1668.

Monsieur,

Vous devez être bien satisfait de toute vôtre conduite, puisque le succès repond si parfaitement à vôtre bonne intention, & que vôtre ouvrage à un si excellent rapport aux fondemens que vous en aviez jettés. Toute la Chrétienté vous doit la gloire d'avoir donné la premiere disposition dans l'esprit du Roi de la Grande Brétagne à une si étroite liaison entre sa Majesté & cet Etat pour le bien & le repos universel de l'Europe. Sur ce principe vous avez continué de travailler avec tant d'application & si heureusement auprès de Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, que c'est à vous principalement à qui l'on est obligé de la bonne disposition en laquelle il se trouve presentement, & de la jouïssance d'un si grand avantage pour la Chrétienté qui en resulte. J'en parle comme d'une chose que nous possedons dejà, parceque je ne voi rien qui nous en puisse frustrer, y ayant de l'apparence que dès à present le Baron de Bergeyck aura executé le pouvoir que nous lui avons porté; & que la Cour de Madrid, pour delivrer les Païs-Bas de l'importunité de ses hôtes, ne voudra pas differer de ratifier le traité. Au reste, je donne fort dans vos sentimens, & suis d'avis que l'on fasse negocier quelque échange de places incontinent après la signature du traité.

Digitized by Google

I writ about it before to Monsieur Beverning, so that I do not doubt but you have been entertained with it already. I confess also with you, that this negotiation will be more conveniently managed afterwards at Paris than any where else, at least, if the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo can resolve to have confidence enough in the King of Great Britain's Ministers and those of this State, to refer to them the negotiation of an affair of this nature: though, if he considers it well, he will find that we both have the same interest in it. You have nothing else but to go on your own way upon the foundation of the agreement of January the 23d, to support the peace made, by a guaranty of all who are interested in it, either in general or particular; never fearing that those who shall negotiate jointly with you in the name of this State, will disorder the harmony that has appeared in the whole course of this negotiation. What they can do, is as well from their own inclination, as in pursuance of their orders. For me, I shall ever second your zeal with joy, and shall take all occasions to shew with how much passion and sincerity I am, Sir, yours, &c.

J'en ai écrit ci-devant à Monsieur Beverning, de sorte que je ne doute point que vous ne vous en soyez déjà entretenus. J'avoue aussi avec vous que cette negociation se fera plus commodement dans la suite à Paris qu'ailleurs; au moins si Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo peut resoudre à prendre assez de confiance aux Ministres du Roi de la Grande Brétagne & de cet Etat, pour s'en rapporter à eux de la negociation d'une affaire de cette nature; quoique s'il le considere bien, il trouvera que nous y avons les uns & les autres presque le même interêt. Vous n'avez que continuër vôtre route sur le fondement de la convention du 23 Janvier, pour soutenir la paix faite par une guarantie de tous les interessés en géneral & en particulier; & ne point craindre que ceux qui travailleront au nom de cet Etat avec vous, deconcertent cette belle harmonie que l'on a vûe en toute la suite de cette negociation. Ils le feront non seulement en execution des ordres qu'ils en ont, mais aussi par inclination. Pour moi, ce sera toujours avec joye que je seconderai votre zele, & que je rencontrerai les occasions où je vous puisse donner des preuves de passion & sincerité avec laquelle la je suis, Monsieur, vôtre très humble serviteur.

Digitized by Google

From my Lord Arlington.

Sir, Whitehall, May 8, 1668.

If I had written to you last post (as I should have done if there had been time for it), you would have heard me complain much of the pain I was in not to hear from you in fifteen days in so delicate a conjuncture of affairs, which was occasioned by contrary winds. In the mean time we were a little eased by Sir John Trevor's assurance to us of the peace having been signed on the 2d, N. S. which has been since amply confirmed by two of yours brought together, of the 2d and 8th, N. S. so that now I can with foundation give you the *parabien* of this great work, which you may without vanity call your own, whatever *padrinoes* you have had to assist you in it: and with more satisfaction, considering what escapes you made between the Marquis's irresolutions, the Baron de Bergeyck's punctilios, and Monsieur Colbert's *emportement*. God be thanked, the great business and you are so well delivered from these accidents; after which I hope this will find you safely arrived at Brussels, and keeping yourself still in the same figure of equipage to wear the better the character of his Majesty's Ambassador at the Hague; towards which I will send you with all speed his final resolution and instructions. In the mean time you will receive, by the inclosed, his mind to the Marquis, recommending to his Excellence the making good with all speed to the Crown of Sweden what we and the Dutch Ambassadors have promised to the Count de Dona, as you will see by this inclosed act, which we gave him at the exchange of our treaty, engaging him in the triple alliance; the performance of which the Dutch Ambassadors and I have already bespoken of the Count de Molina within six

Digitized by Google

weeks time, when we hope the ratification will be come from Stockholm; and, the said Ambassador observing already that the Count de Molina calls to the Dutch Ambassadors and us for a ratification, he admonishes us to delay it till the conditions be performed with him. This, I say, is offered, but not concluded by us to be so observed.

His Majesty had resolved the Parliament should adjourn on Monday last, but, an unhappy difference falling out between the Lords and Commons upon a great point of their privileges, their sitting hath been spun on to this day, though not without hopes of our finally rising to-morrow. Our long talked-of miscarriages have this week been finished with a very unhappy one in the Queen, after twenty days going, and raising the dejected hopes of the whole nation, which even this misfortune hath somewhat revived. I leave it to Ambassador Patrick to entertain you upon this subject, who cannot fail of long letters by this post. I am, with all truth and affection, Sir, your very humble servant.

P. S. You never sent us any copy of the promise of guaranty you signed to the Marquis; though you did the original of that he gave you in exchange of it, with relation to the King our Master. When the Count de Molina hath pressed me apart from the Dutch Ambassadors for his Majesty's ratification, I have told him he ought to have ready his ratification from Madrid to exchange with ours; which it will not be amiss for you to take notice of likewise to the Marquis, when he shall give you occasion for it.

From the Elector of Mentz.

Mentz, May 14, 1668.

My Lord,

The honour of a general joy, upon the peace concluded and

De Mayence, 14 Mai, 1668.

Monsieur,

L'honneur d'une joye génerale sur la paix conclue & signée en-

Digitized by Google

signed between the Crowns, being equally due to the vigorous interposition of his Majesty of Great Britain, and to the wise conduct of your Excellency in an affair of such importance to Christendom; I desire to rejoice with you upon the happy success of it. I hope the ratification of this treaty will be exchanged in due time on both sides; and shall not fail, on my part, of contributing all I can to the preservation of the public peace, and to second his Majesty's intentions; assuring your Excellency in the mean time, that the obligations will never be forgot, which an infinite number of good Christians owe you for your diligence in accomplishing the peace: and that, for my particular, I shall cherish all occasions of shewing your Excellency the sincerity of my affection, and how much I desire to let you know that I am your Excellency's most humble and most affectionate servant.

tre les Couronnes, se devant également à la vigoreuse interposition de sa Majesté de la Grande Brétagne, & à la sage maniere dont vôtre Excellence a sû conduire une affaire de telle importance à toute la Chrêtienté; j'ai bien voulu me conjuir avec elle de l'heureux succès qui l'a suivi. J'espère que la ratification de ce traité sera échangée à son terme de part & d'autre; & ne manquerai de contribuer de ma part tout ce que je pourrai à la conservation du répos public, & pour seconder les intentions de sa Majesté; assûrant cependant vôtre Excellence qu'on n'oubliera jamais les obligations que lui doivent une infinité de bons Chretiens pour les soins qu'elle a apportés à la conciliation de cette paix; & que pour mon particulier je cherirai les occasions par lesquelles je lui pourrai temoigner la sincerité de mon affection, & combien je desire lui faire connoître que je suis, Monsieur, de vôtre Excellence très humble & tres affectionné serviteur.

From the Duke de Roanez.

From the Camp of Ruysbrouk, May 29, 1668.

Sir,

The Count of Rembourg has informed me this morning (being the 27th instant) at eleven o'clock, from the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo, of the arrival of the ratification; to which I sent answer, that I doubted not of what he did me the honour to write to me, but that I had no news of it from the King. Be pleased that I repeat the

Au Camp de Ruysbrouk, Mai 29, 1668.

Monsieur,

Monsieur le Compte de Rembourg m'a fait savoir ce matin 27 à onze heures, de la part de Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, l'arrivée de la ratification: à qui j'ai fait réponse, que je ne doutois pas de ce qu'il me faisoit l'honneur de m'écrire; mais que je n'en avois aucune nouvelle du côté du Roi. Trouvez bon que je vous repete la même

Digitized by Google

same thing to you, to tell you that I wonder extremely how any one can complain that I have attacked their troops out of the city; since these acts of hostility are always allowed till the publication of the peace; for it is but yesterday that one of their parties attacked ours, whereof I sent you the prisoners back to Braine le Chateau; and the same day those of Braine le Chateau took 10,000 Francs from the equipage of one of our captains. They might better inform you, how I send your prisoners back, without suffering them to be dismounted or plundered; that I allow no pillage that comes to my knowledge, and that they have dismounted and stripped even my own domestics. For what the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo has assured you, that his troops on the 27th at noon, and the 28th or 29th at night, acted only in the defensive: if there be any action for the future, whereof I see no appearance, then I shall know by the issue, whether they have yet acted defensively or offensively. This is all I can answer you upon what is past, or to come. In expectation of the King's orders for publishing the peace at the camp, as it has been this day published at Brussels, you will do me justice to believe that no one is more than I, Sir, your most humble servant.

chose; & que je vous dise que je suis extremement étonné que l'on se puisse plaindre de ce que j'ai fait attaquer leurs troupes hors de la ville: puisque ces sortes d'actes d'hostilité sont permis jusqu' à la publication de la paix, & que même hier un de leurs parties attaqua les nôtres, dont je renvoyai les prisonniers à Braine le Chateau; & le même jour, ceux du même Braine le Chateau prirent près de dix mille Francs d'équipage à un de nos capitaines. Ils pourroient encore mieux vous informer comme je renvoi leurs prisonniers, sans permettre qu'on les demonte & qu'on les dépouille; que je ne souffre point de pillage qui vienne à ma connoissance; & qu'ils ont demonté & dépouillé jusqu' à nos domestiques. Pour ce que Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo vous a assuré que ses troupes le 27me après midi, & la nuit du 28me ou 29me, n'avoient agi qu'en se défendant; c'est une verité dont je tombe d'accord: si à l'avenir il y a quelque action, à quoi je ne voi point d'apparence, alors je saurai par l'issue s'ils ont encore agi en se défendant ou en attaquant. Voila ce que je vous puis repondre pour ce qui est passé, & ce que peut arriver, en attendant les ordres du Roi pour faire publier la paix au camp comme l'on l'a publiée aujourd'hui à Bruxelles; vous me ferez justice de croire qu'il n'est personne qui soit plus, Monsieur, vôtre très humble serviteur.

Digitized by Google

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, July 6,
Sir, 1668.

I COULD not receive more agreeable news than what you tell me of your return hither with the character of Ambassador. I am sure you will not doubt the truth of what I say, when you reflect on the satisfaction I ought to have, and have already, in the generosity and sincerity I have observed in all your proceedings. You have reason, Sir, to say, that it is impossible the King of Great Britain should not design to live in a perfect good intelligence with this State, when he sends us a person who ought to be so dear to us upon so many considerations, honoured with a character that shews the esteem and friendship he has for this State: we shall endeavour the continuance of both, by doing all his Majesty can expect from his most faithful allies; and by the same means I shall endeavour to give his Majesty the marks of that profound respect I have for his person, and the proofs of those sentiments I have for your merit. And as you and I desire nothing on both sides, but to preserve eternally the good intelligence you have helped to strengthen with so much success; I cannot doubt, but we may easily avoid whatever is capable of changing it. Permit me, Sir, to say, that you shall find me always disposed to give all facility to whatever can establish the com-

A la Haye, 6 Juill.
Monsieur, 1668.

Je ne pouvois pas recevoir un avis plus agréable que celui que vous me donnez de vôtre prochain rétour avec la qualité d'Ambassadeur: je m'assure que vous ne douterez point de la verité de ce que je viens de dire; quand vous voudrez faire reflexion sur la satisfaction que je dois avoir, & ai en effet, de la generosité & sincerité que j'ai remarqué en tout vôtre procédé. Vous avez raison de dire, Monsieur, qu'il ne se peut, que l'intention du Roi de la Grande Bretagne ne soit de vivre dans une parfaitement bonne intelligence avec cet Etat, puisque il nous envoye une personne qui nous doit être chere par tant de considerations, revêtue d'un charactere qui marque l'estime & l'amitié qu'il a pour cet Etat. Nous tacherons d'en meriter la continuation en faisant tout ce que sa Majesté pourra desirer de ses plus fideles alliés; & par le même moyen tacherai de lui donner des marques du profond respect que j'ai pour la personne de sa Majesté, & des preuves des sentimens que j'ai de vôtre merite. Et comme de part & d'autre, nous ne desirons rien, ni vous ni moi, que de conserver éternellement la bonne intelligence que vous avez aidé à affermir avec tant de succès; je ne puis pas douter que nous n'évitions sans peine tout ce qui pourroit être capable de l'alterer. Permettez moi, Monsieur, que je vous dise encore, que vous me

Digitized by Google

mon interest of either State; and, as I know I shall always find the same disposition in you, I cannot but rejoice when I consider, that I shall have to negociate with a Minister who possesses all the qualities that can make him succeed in whatever he undertakes.

trouverez toujours disposé à donner une derniere facilité à tout ce qui pourra établir l'interêt commun de l'un & de l'autre Etat; & comme je sai que je trouverai toujours la même disposition en vous, il ne se peut que je ne me rejouisse quand je considere que j'aurai à negocier avec un Ministre qui possede toutes les qualités qui le peuvent faire rêüsser en tout ce qu'il entreprendra.

This is all I am permitted to say, by an affliction lately come upon me, having lost a wife who was indeed the true half of me; whereof I make no difficulty by this occasion to inform you, who have had the goodness to tell me, that you take part in my concerns; as on my side I shall ever do in all your interests, with that affection and sincerity wherewith I am and shall remain all my life, Sir, your most humble servant.

C'est tout ce que me permet de dire presentement l'affliction qui m'est survenue, venant de perdre une femme qui faisoit en effet la véritable moitié de moi-même; dont je ne fais point de difficulté de faire part per cette occasion, à celui qui a eu la bonté de me temoigner qu'il en prend beaucoup de part à ce qui me touche; comme de mon côté j'en prendrai toujours à tous vos interêts avec toute l'affection & sincerité avec laquelle je suis & demeurerai toute ma vie, Monsieur, vôtre très humble serviteur.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, July 27,
Sir, 1668.

In your obliging letter of the 3d instant, I find so many marks of affection and tenderness for me, that I cannot defer to return you my most humble thanks, and to tell you, that, of all the consolations given me in my affliction, there is none has been more effectual than what I received from you. I there find, it is the heart that speaks, and that you truly take part in my

A la Haye, 27 Juill.
Monsieur, 1668.

Je trouve dans l'obligéante lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 3me de ce mois, stile de lieu, tant de marques d'affection & de tendresse pour moi, que je ne puis pas differer de vous dire que de toutes les consolations que l'on me donne en mon affliction, il n'y en a point qui ait été plus efficace que celle que je viens de recevoir de vous: j'y reconnois que c'est le

Digitized by Google

affliction, whereof I see you know the greatness, because you so well know the inestimable loss I have suffered. And I dare to say, that, if any remedy be capable of closing the wound, it will doubtless be what your gentle healing hand has applied to it. I confess it is somewhat sensible, because it searches the wound, but it afterwards applies a balm that eases and lessens the pain. I receive it as I ought, and shall endeavour to profit by all your consolations, by combating my weakness with the strength of your reasons, which are dictated to you not only by that Christian philosophy whereof you make profession, but by that sincere friendship wherewith you are pleased to honour me. I most humbly intreat you to be persuaded that I perfectly return your kindness, and am impatient for an occasion to give you proofs of it, which as I hope I shall find when we have the happiness to enjoy you, so I desire with passion to see you here, to let you judge of the intention of this State to preserve faithfully the alliance that the King of Great Britain has pleased to make with it, but more particularly, to let you judge of the inclination I have to contribute thereto all in my small power; and to remain as long as I live, Sir, your, &c.

cœur qui parle, & que vous prenez véritablement part à mon affliction; dont je voi que vous savez la grandeur puisque vous savez celle de la perte inestimable que j'ai faite: & j'ose dire que s'il y a un remede capable de fermer la playe, c'est sans doute celui qui y applique la main benigne & salutaire que vous me prêtez: elle se fait sentir, je l'avouë, parce qu'elle sonde la playe, mais elle y applique ensuite un baûme qui la doucit & qui en soulage la douleur. Je le reçoi comme je dois, & tâcherai de faire mon profit de toutes vos consolations, en combatant une foiblesse avec la force de vos raisons, que vous dicte non seulement la philosophie Chrétienne, dont vous faites profession, mais aussi la très sincere amitié, dont il vous plaît m'honorer. Je vous supplie très humblement d'être persuadé que j'y reponds parfaitement, que je suis dans l'impatience de vous en pouvoir donner des preuves; & que comme j'espere que j'en trouverai les occasions, lorsque nous aurons l'avantage de vous posseder, je desire avec passion de vous voir ici, pour vous faire juge de l'intention de l'État à entretenir fidellement l'alliance qu'il a plû au Roi de la Grande Brétagne faire avec lui; mais bien plus particulierement de l'inclination que j'ai à y contribuër tout ce qui est de mon petit pouvoir, & à demeurer tant que je vivrai, Monsieur, votre très affectionné & très humble serviteur.

Digitized by Google

From the Lord Keeper Bridgeman.

Sir, July 26, 1666.

I RECEIVED yours yesterday morning after you were gone hence; and am afraid the letter which I sent you from Mr. Williamson, might come unseasonably to discompose you: it not being so intended by me; nor I believe the message from the King to be otherwise intended than out of kindness and respect to you to hasten you away; that you might know how important he held your negociations might be for his service at this critical time. And therefore I should be glad that you would take this by the right handle.

I had a letter this night from Sir Thomas Clifford; who writes, that they in the Treasury have a great desire to accommodate you: and though it be not in the privy seal, that you shall have three months advance besides the 1000*l.* yet they will be careful that you receive the money as it is due. The draught of the instructions are sent away to my Lord Arlington, and expected back on Tuesday night, and the foreign committee appointed to sit on Wednesday to dispatch them. Really, Sir, I do not think that there is any intention in pressing your departure for Holland, but just and honourable towards you, and with respect to the greatness of the employment and the urgency of the King's affairs at this time to have you at the Hague: and (if you will take my opinion) I would not have you take other measures of it, even for your own sake. In the mean time, while you do stay, you may press on the business of your account, though I should not advise you to retard your journey upon that score. It may be as well pressed on by your Lady if she do not accompany

Digitized by Google

you, or else by your solicitors (among whom I will be one), who, if any obstructions be, may write to you to remove them: but you will find the Vice-Chamberlain dilatory, and then your stay at last upon this new business (for so I may call it) may beget a misconstruction. You will pardon the freedom I take in imparting my own thoughts to you in this case.

I wish you and my Lady (to whom I recommend my humble service) a happy journey and all other felicities, as I wish to myself, who am ever your faithful and very affectionate servant.

END OF VOL. I.

Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

3 2044 010 624 179

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.

WIDENER
BOOK DUE
FEB 1 1992

WIDENER
BOOK DUE
MAY 24 1996

WIDENER
BOOK DUE
SEP 10

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google